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Gorbachev Arrives for Pact Ministers Meeting

Greeted by Honecker, Officials

LD111448 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 11 Dec (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Berlin today in order to participate in the meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states. Also arriving with him were E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR minister of foreign affairs; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; S.F. Akhromeyev, first deputy USSR Minister of Defense; and A.S. Chernyayev, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

M.S. Gorbachev was met at the airport by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and the chairman of the GDR State Council; by the following members of the SED Central Committee Politburo: W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; H. Sindermann, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber; H. Axen, H-J. Bohme, J. Herrmann, H. Dohlus, H. Kessler, G. Kleiber, E. Krenz, W. Krolikowski, S. Lorenz, E. Mielke, G. Mittag, E. Mueckenberger, A. Neumann, H. Tisch, K. Hager, G. Schabowski, W. Eberlein, W. Jarowinsky; by the following candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo: W. Walde, I. Lange, G. Mueller, M. Mueller, and also By H. Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and by I. Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs.

In the welcoming party were D. T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense; V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and V.I. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

From the aircraft steps M.S. Gorbachev and E. Honecker walked toward the citizens of the GDR capital who were there to greet them. Turning to the Berliners, M.S. Gorbachev thanked them for the cordial welcome. I am glad to see that you are in a good mood, he said. Those who were gathered there expressed gratitude to the Soviet leader for the good work done in Washington and wished him a good health.

Pact Leaders Arrive in GDR

LD102058 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin December 10 TASS—The leaders of countries grouped in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation arrived here today to take part in a Warsaw Treaty summit meeting.

The include:

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Council of State of Bulgaria;

Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party;

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of State of Poland;

Ioan Totu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, foreign minister of Romania and personal representative of the general secretary of the RCP Central Committee and of Romania's president;

Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and president of Czechoslovakia.

The guests were met at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, and other party and state leaders of the country.

TASS Lists Meeting Participants

LD111334 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin December 11 TASS—The leaders of Warsaw Treaty member countries began a meeting here today.

Taking part in the meeting are:

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Council of State of Bulgaria,

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic,

Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of State of Poland,

Ioan Totu, personal representative of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and of the president of Romania, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Romania, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

And Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of Czechoslovakia.

The meeting is being attended by the Warsaw Treaty foreign and defence ministers.

Gremitskikh Address Journalists 10 Dec

Importance of INF Treaty

LD102006 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] A briefing on current problems of international politics took place today in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Yuriy Aleksandrovich Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, who addressed the Soviet and foreign journalists, said, in part:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] Today it is possible to agree with the view of leading observers from the most varied countries that, very probably, no event in the more than 40 years since the end of the World War II has provoked such an outburst of emotion and such broad approval as the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapon—medium- and shorter-range missiles. I would like to stress in particular that we are talking not about some kind of outburst of euphoria, but about deep, well-founded feelings of satisfaction. I believe that it is possible to agree with the view expressed virtually unanimously, both by ordinary people in various corners of the planet and by the most high-ranking state figures: The Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles is not only an important bilateral deed, but a document which, in the event of its assuming legal force, will become the threshold to a new epoch—not only an epoch of the transformation of mountains of weapons into scrap metal, but also an epoch of the liberation of mankind from obsolete stereotypes, fears, and mistrust.

Very probably, the start made in this accord between the USSR and the United States and their transition to the implementation of a program of real disarmament, which other nuclear powers could join in the course of time, can be considered even more important. I believe that the growing understanding of realities, the practical value of the principles of new thinking, which have been widely reflected in the reactions of the world press, are acquiring particular importance, just as they were formulated, in particular, in the Delhi Declaration. The fact that the obligations in the accord on implementing on-site inspection [kontrol na mestakh] were reached on the basis of international law for the first time in history, has not been ignored by the world's mass media. Considerable importance is attached by the world's press to the mechanisms and the treaty-based legal foundation for the elimination of weapons systems created by the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, which creates an invaluable precedent for negotiations on other types of weapons as well.

Today, not only our friends, but those who only yesterday were trying to reduce the efforts of our new foreign policy to the concept of a glossing over of a facade, have reached the understanding that the USSR is conducting not only a new national foreign policy, but a policy that tries to reflect, and does reflect, the fundamental interests of other peoples and states. Here I cannot help citing the words of British Defense Secretary Younger that, I quote, the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles is historic, because it will provide real gains in the sphere of security. I ask you to note: Not a gain for one individual country but a gain on the level of security, general security, understood as an indivisible whole.

We also attach great importance to the high assessments of the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles which are coming from countries of the Asian and Pacific region. They reflect satisfaction with the fact that, at the stage of the preparation of the treaty, the USSR met half-way the anxiety expressed about the missiles remaining in Asia and agreed to eliminate them completely.

Of course, we can see and note attempts to belittle and in some places to hush up the historic positive progress taking shape and occurring as a result of the talks in Washington. We can see this, but it does not discourage us, because time is the best judge. I think that it will force people to take account of the new elements of international politics which have become, or are becoming, reality as a result of the meeting in Washington. [end recording]

U.S. Radar Inspection Postponed

LD102056 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—Meeting a U.S. request, the Soviet side has decided to put off the inspection of Pawn Shop radar motor-vans in Gomel and near Moscow and individual sections of the Twin Flat radar in the Gomel region by American representatives, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here that it had been initially suggested to the American side to make the inspection trip to the USSR between December 14 and 16.

The American side, however, requested that the inspection be put off due to excessive work load on its representatives. The inspection had been slated for the period between December 21 and 23, said the ministry spokesman.

The Soviet side displayed readiness to meet the U.S. request for increasing the number of participants in the trip to eight persons. The American representatives would be able to photograph the motor-vans and radar sections, Gremitskikh pointed out.

Comments on UN Resolutions

LD101543 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today hailed the U.N. General Assembly's resolution concerning a declaration on educating peoples in a spirit of peace, which has been sponsored by Poland, as an important contribution to creating the moral guarantees of comprehensive security.

The spokesman, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing in a comment on the general assembly ending of a debate on a range of issues related to international security.

He said it "has vividly demonstrated an objective concurrence of the approaches of most U.N. member states to the problems of removing the threat of nuclear war, bringing about disarmament and promoting development and broad international dialogue".

The consensus shown by the session on a resolution for stronger security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, Gremitskikh said, had demonstrated the U.N. members' profound concern about the continued militarization of that region and lingering tension there.

He added that the resolution should make a positive contribution to ensuring security and developing cooperation in the Mediterranean and settling conflicts there.

He added that the resolution should make a positive contribution to ensuring security and developing cooperation in the Mediterranean and settling conflicts there.

Adamishin Addresses Journalists 10 Dec

Verification, Test Ban Outlined

PM111351 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] On the road toward the strengthening of international cooperation the Soviet Union attaches immense importance to humanitarian questions and the observance of basic human rights and freedoms. This statement was made 10 December by A. L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, speaking at a Foreign Ministry Press Center briefing in connection with the end of the 42d UN General Assembly Session. The resolution adopted at the session on a comprehensive system of international peace and security, whose draft was submitted by the socialist states, stresses the importance of the problems of humanitarian cooperation along with spheres such as disarmament, economic cooperation, ecology, and other questions.

The journalists were then acquainted with certain events of the past week. In connection with the invitation to the U.S. side to visit the mobile [avtofurgony] "Pawn Shop" radar in the Moscow and Gomel region 14-16 December it was reported that the U.S. side was unable to accept the date for the trip owing to pressure of work. The U.S. side has been invited to make the trip slightly later: 21 through 23 December. U.S. specialists have also been given an opportunity to increase the size of their group to eight people and to photograph the demonstration site.

Commenting on the joint statement in Washington by the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state on the holding of a joint experiment on Soviet and U.S. test ranges in the very near future, Yu. A. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, stated that this action could be an important step toward a complete ban on nuclear tests. The experiment will start in a month's time. It is planned that the exchange of visits between specialists will be held at the test range in the Semipalatinsk region in the first half of January 1988, and at the Nevada test range in the second half of January.

One further item of information for the journalists concerned the unpremeditated violation of Japanese airspace by a Soviet aircraft in the region of the island of Okinawa 9 December. It was reported that this happened as a result of the failure of the navigation system while the aircraft was flying in difficult weather conditions. The Soviet side expresses its regret at what happened.

Discusses Human Rights

LD101540 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—The Soviet Union believes that the issues of international cooperation and of respect for basic human rights and liberties should be given ever greater prominence in the modern interrelated and interdependent world, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin said here today.

Speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents on the occasion of human rights day, he said "heightened attention to the problem is just as important as progress in such fields as disarmament, economic cooperation and ecology".

Adamshin said joint activities in the humanitarian area should be constructive.

He disclosed that a Soviet-Australian agreement was currently being prepared for signature on people-to-people contacts and humanitarian cooperation.

"In its relations with the United States, too, the Soviet Union is seeking to go over from mutual recriminations to regular dialogue and has made a whole number of specific proposals for humanitarian cooperation," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

He stressed that such cooperation should be based on respect for the laws of each country.

"Each country decides these or other matters in conformity with its laws and administrative rules, just as envisaged by all the effective international agreements on this score.

"This does not mean, though, that these laws are something given once and for all. In the USSR, for example, significant work is under way as part of the wide-ranging process of democratization and perestroyka to update Soviet legislation and bring it in line with the international commitments made by the Soviet Union," Adamishin said.

'Businesslike' Debate Needed on Human Rights

PM111027 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov "Commentator's Column": "Day of Struggle"]

[Text] Just as every year, today is being celebrated throughout the world, by decision of the United Nations, as Human Rights Day. On just this day—39 years ago—the 3d UN General Assembly Session meeting in Paris adopted The Universal Declaration devoted to these rights.

I was working in France at the time, covering that session for the Soviet press, and I well remember the stormy sittings—first in the session's third committee and then at the plenary session, where two concepts of human rights clashed. The delegations of the USSR and other socialist countries demanded that the declaration include not only general wishes but also states' pledges to ensure observance of human rights. The U.S. delegation and the representatives supporting it from Western states, which then held an absolute majority of UN seats, rejected all proposals and amendments of a binding nature with the help of the "voting machinery."

Still, in the end an important document was elaborated which defined, for example, the tasks that all peoples and all states must strive to resolve. Eighteen years later, on 16 December 1966, by which time the United States had lost its mechanical control over the will of states that had gained independence, the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights were signed. They already possessed the force of treaties. Those pacts were validated in 1976. They have both been adopted by the USSR and are strictly observed in our country.

And in the United States?—the reader will ask. It is here that an important circumstance comes to light. Although people in Washington talk more loudly than anyone about the struggle for human rights, the United States has still not recognized these pacts. What is more, of 178 international documents which speak of human rights, the United States has so far signed and ratified only just over 30.

The U.S. Senate ratified even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, only after the State Department had sent Congress a memorandum explaining that the declaration's provisions are not binding in character.

The question of human rights is of vitally great significance. The world cannot be secure when these rights are flouted, when elementary conditions do not exist in a sizable part of the world for people to lead a dignified existence, when they have no roof over their heads, when they can find no work and are dying of hunger!

The USSR advocates proceeding from fine words about human rights to action and bringing national legislation and administrative regulations everywhere into line with international pledges and norms. Observance of human rights is an urgent problem, and speculation in it dictated by cheap, current calculations of a propaganda nature is inadmissible.

One would like to hope that Washington will at last understand this and respond positively to the USSR's proposal to hold an international conference in Moscow devoted to a businesslike discussion of the problem of human rights.

UNGA Antiterrorism Resolution Helps Cooperation

PM101247 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[Igor Melnikov "Commentator's Column": "Terrorism in the Dock"]

[Text] The 42d UN General Assembly Session has adopted a resolution condemning acts of international terrorism "which may create a threat to peace, security, and friendly relations between states."

The document is topical. The world is incessantly hearing of more and more terrorist actions. On just one day an explosion rang out amid the crowd of veterans gathered at the memorial to the casualties of both world wars in the Northern Irish town of Enniskillen, 50 passersby perished from a blast in the center of Colombo, and Beirut airport shuddered under yet another blast. The old year has still not put an end to the grim list of victims of terrorism. Here is the data for 1986: A total of 413 terrorist actions have been recorded in which 400 people died and almost 500 were wounded.

Politicians and statesmen, the leaders of trade unions and leftist parties, journalists, priests—these are the targets. Aircraft are hijacked, hostages taken, and booby traps scattered to which children fall victim... The chain

stretches from isolated actions by individuals to a system whereby terrorism exacerbates the situation in whole countries and regions, infringing the normal development of international relations.

One of the main causes of outbreaks of terrorism is the regional crises and conflicts kindled by imperialist circles. The crimes of the Israeli aggressors provoke a retaliatory reaction from the Arabs, and the poisoned dagger of the Salvadoran "death squads" has been detected on U.S. territory. In their turn, have not the Brazinskas, hikackers whose hands are stained with the blood of the stewardess Nadezhda Kurchenko, found asylum on U.S. soil?

This is not the first year that mankind has been alarmed that a most dangerous form of armed violence with unpredictable consequences—state terrorism—exists alongside individual and group terrorism. As life shows, the imperialist powers resort to it, so it is no coincidence that the UN resolution insistently urged us to help remove such deep-seated causes of international terrorism as colonialism, racism, and the flagrant violation of human rights and basic freedoms. It contains an appeal to all states to refrain from organizing, aiding and abetting, and participating in terrorist acts.

The poisonous weed of terrorism must be rooted out of the field of international life, but uprooting it with the aid of state terrorism is unacceptable since it gives rise to a vicious circle of violence and bloodshed, and even more human lives, states' sovereignty, and international law are sacrificed. Therefore, the world community is also calling for a genuine expansion of cooperation among states to eradicate terrorism, including international terrorism.

As can be seen, the authority of the United Nations can help the successful struggle against terrorism. That same noble purpose could also be served by the tribunal to investigate acts of international terrorism which has been created under the aegis of the world community.

'Fruitful Pluralism of Views' at Moscow Forum

PM101753 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Forum Continues. 'Great October and the Present Day'"]

[Text] The nature of the discussions at the international scientific conference "Great October and the Present Day" which is continuing in Moscow is largely determined by the range of its participants. Among the 20 scientists and public figures from 65 countries [as published] are not just representatives of Marxist-Leninist scientific thought but also of social democratic, socialist, and revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations.

A fruitful pluralism of ideas on the global problems of international relations, questions of the new political thinking, and the paths of socialism's development—this, in the opinion of Academician O. T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, is the main feature of the discussions in the three sections of this scientific forum. The Soviet scientist took part, along with other conference participants, in a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 9 December.

There are many questions, he said, on which the views of the participants do not coincide. However, we find this kind of dialogue, this kind of juxtaposition of different views reciprocally rewarding. As an example, the academician cited the discussion that took place on the question of the democratization of Soviet society. Some people, he said, identify it with the development of a multiparty system. Others do not absolutize this aspect, deeming it above all necessary to take account of the opinion of various groups and strata of the population and strengthen the atmosphere of glasnost.

Intellectual pluralism, the clash of opinions, noted I.I. Antonovich, prorector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, strenthens the general accord. We will argue, but we will proceed from moral trust and mutual respect for each other's viewpoints. In the course of such debates new truths are born. The discussions show that broad opportunities exist for cooperation between the planet's progressive forces. However, there also remain differences which must be overcome so that the most important problems can be resolved.

Yu. A. Krasin, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Institute [as published] of Social Sciences, cited the lively exchange of views in one of the sections as illustrative in this respect. A representative of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) put forward an extensive program of collaboration between socialists and communists in Western countries in many fields. A member of the French Communist Party Central Committee who took the floor after him was not over optimistic, recalling the profound differences between communists and socialists in France. As a result the whole audience joined in the discussion.

The replies to the journalists' questions reflected the great variety of viewpoints at the scientific conference. An exception was the unanimous assessment of the signing in Washington of the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles by the leaders of the USSR and the United States.

The treaty marks a serious improvement of the international climate, which is necessary for deepening and developing economic relations in the world and above all between East and West, O.T. Bogomolov believes. This agreement strengthens trust between the two sides and

provides an additional powerful impetus for the achievement of other accords—and not only in the sphere of disarmament. The arms reduction provided for by the treaty will not, of course, significantly affect the economic situation either in the USSR or the United States. It is only the first step. Really major savings in military expenditure will occur only when further steps are taken on the road to disarmament. However, even what has already been achieved will serve the two sides' economic development.

We will focus all our efforts on contributing in everyway to the implementation of the agreement signed in Washington, O. Reinhold, rector of the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences said. This treaty is the beginning of the renunciation of nuclear weapons. It is necessary to do everything to back up the first steps toward a nuclear-free world. This path leads to the overcoming of the military confrontation which hampers the process of economic cooperation.

The agreement on the elimination of missiles is a promise of future real disarmament measures, of a future safe world, emphasized J. West, member of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. The signing of the agreement will mark a happy Christmas for the American people and will strengthen confidence that the nuclear threat can be averted.

Foreign Trade, Economic Contacts Reported

PM101257 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, Dec 87 p 21 (Signed to Press 3 Dec 87)

[TASS reports under general heading "Diary"]

[Text] The 44th session of the International Investment Bank Council has been held in Bucharest.

The council examined the question of the development prospects of the International Investment Bank's credit operations in 1987-1990, stemming from the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) sitting of the CEMA Session. The council also examined the question of the bank's financing of measures for the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and assistance in the development of new forms of economic cooperation.

The 67th session of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation Council has been held in Bucharest.

It examined the question of tasks of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation stemming from the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) sitting of the CEMA Session and determined the main avenues of the bank's work on the improvement of its credit and accounting mechanism and the enhancement of the role of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation in the development of multilateral cooperation between fraternal socialist countries and new forms of their collaboration at the contemporary stage.

The 32d session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in the Electrical and Postal Communications Sphere ended with the signing of a final protocol in the Czechoslovak city of Gottwaldov. It discussed questions of the development and further improvement of the automated communications system and technical specifications of digital transmitting devices, including radio relay devices.

Questions concerning the gathering and processing of statistical data on the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and the improvement of statistical information were examined at the regular session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in the Sphere of Statistics held in Prague.

A session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on Cooperation in the Electric Power Sphere has been held in Lvov. Particular attention was given to the question of the preparedness of national grids and the Combined Power Grids Central Switching Administration during the fall and winter of 1987-1988.

French business circles attach great importance to the expansion of trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union, Michel Freches, director general of the French Foreign Trade Bank and chairman of one of the National Council of French Employers committees, stated in an interview with a TASS correspondent. He spoke in favor of the elimination of obstacles in the way of the development of bilateral trade.

A session of the Soviet-Argentine Mixed Commission for Trade, Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has ended in Buenos Aires with the signing of an industrial cooperation agreement and a final act.

Reagan, Gorbachev Activities, Speeches

Gorbachev Meets With Bush

LD101526 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] A brief conversation of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with U.S. Vice President George Bush took place at the Soviet Embassy in the United States today. They then attended a breakfast, that was also attended by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and eminent representatives of the U.S. public. Present were Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Dobrynin, Kamentsev, Dubinin and other officials.

Also today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will meet President Reagan again. Later on in the White House, an official ceremony will take place to see off the top-ranking Soviet guest. All four leading U.S. television companies will interrupt their current programs for a live relay of the good-bye ceremony of the top-ranking Soviet guest with the U.S. President.

The television companies ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN are also planning to conduct a live relay of the news conference of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

Impromptu Meeting With Public

LD102313 [Editorial Report] London ITV Television Network in English at 2200 GMT on 10 December in its regular ITN newscast carries a short "exclusive" video report by Washington correspondent Jon Snow on Mikhail Gorbachev's impromptu walkabout in Washington today, following his talks with Vice President Bush.

Video shows Gorbachev's car stopping on the street. Gorbachev gets out and goes over to onlookers. His interpreter then says to the onlookers that Gorbachev wants to say hello to them. Video shows Gorbachev shaking hands with some onlookers and waving to others. Vice President Bush is shown watching Gorbachev and talking to others. Shevardnadze can be seen alongside Gorbachev during the events.

Jon Snow then speaks to those who shook hands with Gorbachev. They express a pleased reaction. One unidentified female terms Gorbachev "a public relations genius."

Jon Snow then concludes the report by saying that Gorbachev has succeeded in taking Washington by storm.

Gorbachev, Reagan Meet 10 Dec

LD101550 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—Talks between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan were continued in the White House today.

Talks 'Not Going Easily'

LD101917 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Washington by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] [Video shows aerial views of Washington] The conversations between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Reagan are continuing in Washington today. [video shows Gorbachev arriving in a limousine, being met by Reagan, then being shown around the outside of the White House by Reagan] Mikhail Sergeyevich arrived at the White House and the President, diverging from official protocol, met him at his car and conducted him into the building. On the way he told Gorbachev about the interesting points of the residence of the U.S. Presidents. [video shows views of the outside of the White House]

This morning in the White House began with an event which, in the official schedule—a schedule, incidentally, that is as tight as it can possible be—was called a working luncheon. Luncheon, however, is simply the formal name for it: In essence it was a continuation of the intense work on discussing major political problems.

Informed circles are saying that things are not going easily [idut neprosto] and that during the discussion of problems, viewpoints and stances are emerging which are quite different from each other. Every new step along the path toward disarmament and the solution of complex international problems is being won with difficulty and requires patience, persistence, and a large stock of goodwill. In this, the Soviet side is not lacking. How the Washington talks ended, the world will learn this evening.

White House Departure Ceremony

LD101951 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Belikov, Vitaliy Chukseyev and Gennadiy Shishkin:

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev is ending his official visit to the United States today.

2 p.m. local time. A guard of honour was formed near the White House. Prominent American political, state and public figures, representatives of the business community and diplomats came to see off the Soviet leader.

The following Soviet officials were present:

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Sergey Akhromeyev, first deputy defence minister of the USSR.

Anatoliy Chernyayev, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

And Yuriy Dubinin, ambassador of the USSR to the United States.

Mikhail Gorbachev, accompanied by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, left the White House after saying goodbye to Secretary of State George Shultz, other administration officials and members of Congress.

The President of the United States and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee addressed those present.

[Moscow TASS in English at 2015 GMT on 10 December carries a corrected version of this report, deleting the following paragraph] The orchestra played the state anthems of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Reagan Speaks at Departure

LD102155 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—Following is the full text of U.S. President Ronald Reagan's speech at the departure ceremony for Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

Mr General Secretary,

These last few days have been exciting indeed for both of us, for our fellow countrymen who follow the course of our discussions. I'm pleased to report that upon the completion of our business that this sumit has been a clear success.

Like the star on the top of the national Christmas tree which was lit the evening you arrived, Mr. General Secretary, this summit has lit the sky with hope for all people of goodwill. And as we leave it—leave, [as received] it is up to both sides to ensure that the luster does not wear off, and to follow through on our commitments as we move forward to the next steps in improving the relations between our countries and peoples.

I believe both the general secretary and I can walk away from our meetings with a sense of accomplishment. We have proven that adversaries, even with the most basic philosophical differences, can talk candidly and respectfully with one another, and, with perseverance, find common ground. We did not hide from the weighty differences that separate us. Many of them, of course, remain.

One of my predecessors, President Franklin Roosevelt, once said, "history cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking." Our discussions in that spirit were straightforward and designed to open a thoughtful communication between our governments on the critical issues that confront us.

Our exchange on the subject of human rights underscored the priority we in the Western democracies place on respect for fundamental freedoms. I'm pleased that during this summit we addressed this area of heartfelt importance and have ensured a continuing dialogue on human rights at the highest levels of our governments.

Our discussion on regional conflicts were no less to the point. These conflicts continue to take a heavy toll in lives and impose a heavy burden on East-West relations. The general secretary and I expressed different points of view. We did so bluntly, and for that reason alone our talks have been useful in this area. Moreover we agreed that it is necessary to search for real political solutions to these conflicts. But so far we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. We must now press ahead in the search for political solutions that advance the cause of peace and freedom for the people suffering in these wars. The door has been opened. And it will stay open to serious discussion of ending these regional conflicts.

And as far as open doors, Mr. Gorbachev and I both agree on the desirability of freer and more extensive personal contact and the breaking down of artificial barriers between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. As I said in my welcoming remarks, the fact that our governments have disagreements should not prevent our peoples from being friends.

Of course, the greatest accomplishment of these three days was the signing of a treaty to eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. Another one of my predecessors, a President I've admired since my youth, Calvin Coolidge, once said "History is made only by

action." Well it took enormous effort and almost superhuman tenacity on the part of negotiators on both sides, but the end product is a treaty that does indeed make history.

It is in the interests of both our peoples. Yet I cannot help but believe that mankind is the biggest winner. At long last, we have begun the task of actually reducing these deadly weapons, rather than simply putting limits on their growth.

The INF Treaty, as proud of it as we are, should be viewed as a beginning, not an end. Further arms reduction is now possible. I'm please some progress has been made toward a strategic arms reduction treaty over the last three days.

Individual agreements will not, in and of themselves, result in sustained progress. We need a realistic understanding of each other's intentions and objectives, a process for dealing with differences in a practical and straightforward manner, and we need patience, creativity and persistence in achieving what we set out to do. As a result of this summit, the framework for building such a relationship has been strengthened.

I'm determined to use this framework. My goal, which I believe you share, Mr General Secretary, is a more constructive relationship between our governments, long lasting, rather than transitory, improvements. Together, we can bring about a more secure and prosperous future for our peoples and a more peaceful world. Both of us are aware of the difficult challenges and special responsibilities inherent in this task.

A good deal has been accomplished. I would like to emphasize that in particular.

During World War Two when so many young Russians served at the front, the poem "Wait for Me" became a prayer spoken on the lips of Russian families who dreamed one day of the happiness that their reunion would bring. The cause of world peace and world freedom is still waiting, Mr. General Secretary. It has waited long enough.

General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs Gorbachev, it is good that you came to America. Nancy and I are pleased to have welcomed you here. Your visit was short, yet I hope you'll take with you a better sense of the spirit and soul of the United States of America.

And when you get back to Moscow , please pass on to the Soviet people the best wishes of the American people for a peaceful and prosperous new year.

Thank you, and God speed on your journey.

Gorbachev Responds

LD102200 Moscow TASS in English 2153 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—(TASS special correspondents) At the departure ceremony near the White House today, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev addressed a speech to those present.

He said: Esteemed Mr President, Esteemed Mrs Reagan, Ladies and Gentlemen. In these last hours before our departure for home, we note with satisfaction that the visit to Washington has, on the whole, justified our hopes. We have had three days of hard work, of businesslike and frank discussions on the pivotal problems of Soviet-American relations and on important aspects of the current world situation.

A good deal has been accomplished. I would like to emphasize in particular an unprecedented step in the history of the nuclear age: the signing of the treaty under which the two militarily and strategically greatest powers have assumed an obligation to actually destroy a portion of their nuclear weapons, thus, we hope, setting in motion the process of nuclear disarmament.

In our talks with President Ronald Reagan, some headway has been made on the central issue of that process, achieving substantial reductions of strategic offensive arms, which are the most potent weapons in the world, although we still have a lot of work to do.

We have had a useful exchange of views which has clarified each other's positions concerning regional conflicts, the development of our bilateral ties, and human rights. On some of these aspects, it seems likely that we can identify specific solutions, satisfactory both to us and to other countries.

A useful result of the Washington talks is that we have been able to formulate a kind of agenda for joint efforts in the future. This puts the dialogue between our two countries on a more predictable footing and is undoubtedly constructive.

While this visit has centered on our talks with the President of the United States, I have no intention of minimizing the importance of meetings with members of Congress, with other political leaders, public figures, members of the business and academic communities, cultural figures, and media executives. Such contacts enable us to gain a better and more profound knowledge of each other, provide a wealth of opportunities for checking one's views, assessements, and even established stereotypes.

All this is important, both for policy-making, and for bringing peoples and countries closer together.

These meetings have confirmed the impressions that there is a growing desire in American society for improved Soviet-American relations. In short, what we have seen here is a movement matching the mood that has long been prevalent among Soviet People.

In bidding farewell to America I am looking forward to a new encounter with it, in the hope that I will then be able to see not only its capital, but also to meet face-to-face with its great people, to chat, and to have some lively exchanges with ordinary Americans.

I believe that what we have accomplished during the meeting and the discussions will, with time, help considerably to improve the atmosphere in the world at large, and in America itself, in terms of its more correct and tolerant perception of my country, the Soviet Union.

Today, the Soviet Union and the United States are closer to the common goals of strengthening international security. But this goal is yet to be reached, there is still much work to be done, and we must get down to it without delay.

Mr President, esteemed citizens of the United States. We are grateful for your hospitality and we wish success, well-being and peace to all Americans. Thank you and good-bye.

Gorbachev Addresses Businessmen

LD110644 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0340 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] [Announcer] I will remind you, comrades, that today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev left the United States of America. At Andrews Airport [as heard] near the ramp of the plane the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and his wife were seen off by U.S. Vice President Bush and his wife and official representatives of the White House and of the U.S. State Department. The previous day a meeting took place in the Soviet Embassy in Washington between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and prominent representatives of U.S. business circles. U.S. Trade Secretary Verity took part in it. Present from the Soviet side were Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Dobrynin, Kamentsev, Chernyayev, and Dubinin; leaders of a number of Soviet academic institutes; scientists; and economists. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed those assembled:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Ladies and Gentlemen, I welcome you to the Soviet Embassy. I will say immediately that I value very much this opportunity during my visit to meet with you, the representatives of business circles, the significance of whom is great in all countries, for their work is connected with the very bases of the life of people and states. Without the expansion and development of economic and trade ties it is difficult to construct reliable relations, for this is the basis for policy, cooperation, mutual understanding, exchanges, and human contacts.

In the 40 years since the war we have been able to demonstrate that we can live without you and you can live without us. We have been surprisingly successful in this. Moreover, this was accompanied by the fact that we spent colossal resources on the arms race. We were held captive by these concepts: Who would get ahead of whom, who would start dictating to whom. But I will not say now that one side is to blame in this process while the other was always in the right. I think even the task of our meeting lies not in this. I simply want to say that as a result of that policy and such approaches we destroyed even what we had in the sense of economic ties. They are now barely warming up. We got drawn into an arms race and spent enormous intellectual and material resources and built this enormous powder keg on which we sit together. We wait and do not know what will happen to us.

This process needs to be broken. Approaches in politics need to be broken, as does the way we regard each other. We must look at one another as partners, not as opponents. This political arrangement of seeing you, for your part, seeing the Soviet Union in the role of an enemy, this has taken us in the wrong direction. We have dug a rut from which we can not emerge.

Thus, I would like to say that we are pleased with the political results of this visit. The normalization of political relations, political dialogue, the process of disarmament for which we have provided a serious impetus by signing the treaty, the detailed exchange on strategic offensive weapons which makes it possible to move this process on from constructive positions, all of this creates a favorable atmosphere for us to think about how we will now conduct trade, how we will develop economic relations. It seems to me that we could be useful to each other. We are certain that U.S. business could benefit by developing its affairs in the Soviet Union, and we are certain that this cooperation will to some extent make easier—I do not wish to conceal this—the solving of our problems.

We view ourselves as part of the world economy, and to try to follow the line of isolation, isolationism, to be guided by such approaches, would be incorrect from all points of view, primarily from the point of view of common sense. I do not think one needs to be a great specialist; one just needs to be a person with common sense in order to understand that it cannot be allowed that our two immense countries should not cooperate. We have immense economic potential, immense scientific potential, great reserves of intellectual strengths, and we can, by combining, by cooperating, first, let us say, in those areas where the opportunity exists, and later on life will show that we can be complementary and move these relations on in each other's interest.

In recent years we have discovered great interest within the United States, and let it be said that among business circles interest in cooperation has never fallen away. I would like to say these words to you. I think I already

said them when we met in Moscow, when there was a meeting of about 400 businessmen. Many whom I see here today were present then. I said then and would like to say now, that we appreciate the commonsense position of businessmen, business people, who reckon that we can conduct affairs successfully in the sphere of the economy.

Of course, business is a serious matter, and nobody wants to go beyond the bounds of normal risks, so that it should not smack of adventurism, so to speak. Everybody wants to get some idea of what conditions and prerequisities will be created—economic, political, and legal ones, and others—and also the conditions for people, so that business can develop normally and new approaches can be sought.

We are thinking about this, and we have done a great deal in this respect in our legislation. We have adopted political decisions regarding cooperation. At the moment this process is gathering strength, and what I would like is that now you, making use of the new forms and the new approaches, should get more actively involved in this joint work of exploration. Why? I still think that logic itself, history itself, has disposed matters such that we just cannot get away from each other. Perhaps you would like to be rid of the Soviet Union so that it does not get in your way, and I do not know, perhaps there are those in our country who would like to be rid of the United States so that it does not get in our way. But I think that this brigade is taking an unrealistic approach; it does not have a realistic view of the world. The United States and the Soviet Union are a reality, and a very large-scale reality in the present day. This being so, we have to live and coexist, and it is best if we are going not just to live and coexist, but also to cooperate.

The mood of our people is changing in relation to each other, and that is also very important. People want processes of rapprochement, mutual understanding, and acquaintance to be underway between our countries; they want an atmosphere of trust to be created. The Soviet leadership, the present leadership, which has proposed the policy of restructuring and the new policy for its country, regards external economic contacts as a very important area of cooperation with other people, both from positions of internal interests and from positions of strengthening international relations and providing a real basis for them—commercial interest. When all people and nations are interconnected, when interests form the foundation—and the interest is above all in preserving peace and ridding ourselves of the threat of nuclear weapons—we have a common interest in coping with global problems and with the consequences of the scientific-technical revolution, and with ecology, and with other things, which I will not enumerate; the problems of poverty and backwardness: All this is what we must try to resolve and do by our common efforts.

That is the first thing. Second, we think that if we are going to be more dependent on each other economically, we will be more responsible politically in relation to each other. All this is so dialectical and interconnected. Therefore, my main thought is that the Soviet Union, the Government, and the organizations that are connected with the economy and are now realizing the new mechanism and implementing radical economic reform have in mind, as one of the factors of the development of the internal and the strengthening of the international situation, cooperation—economic and commercial—between our countries. I will put it this way: Of course, since you have taught us lessons over the last decades, we have also become cautious. We ourselves can no longer be drawn into that cooperation so easily. I have said this to the President too. When, at 2 days' notice we were deprived of 17 million metric tons of grain in the middle of winter, and we had to find an answer for how and where to get the grain—you know when that was, when there was an embargo—that caused us to realize that we cannot rely solely on the United States. I am telling you this sincerely. I took part in the discussions at the time with Brezhnev on how we should proceed in the future, since it seemed the United States could exploit economic ties in order to step on our throats.

That was one lesson. A second lesson was this: We had bound ourselves by compensation-deal ties, purchase of equipment and licenses, and through certain ancillary materials, with the West; then suddenly the Cocom lists appeared, obstacles were erected—and we found ourselves like a dog with hay, as the saying goes. Then the problem was how to solve our tasks: strategic, scientific-technical, technological. We said, no, we will never again make the mistake of underestimating our own national engineering industry, our own science.

It now possesses a vast potential in our country, and we have now doubled our investment in Soviet engineering and increased investment in computer technology, in some areas by 300% and in others by 5-7 times. We are pressing on with all these advanced technologies and advanced areas in order to catch up. Now we can feel that our scientists, technicians, specialists, and designers have actively joined in solving the problem and that we have great reserves of talent. So we have learned the lessons.

We will not, of course, permit anything that exposes the country's interests to another blow. But this does not in the least mean that we are against large-scale projects, and large-scale cooperation. No, we are nevertheless for that. We will combine cooperation with resolving the tasks that we have mapped out for ourselves, and if someone is prepared to take part in it with us, to help us and to receive their own profit, we invite them to do so. We invite them and will seek out approaches, will set up the preconditions for this kind of cooperation.

I am talking to you in open, simple language in order to be clear, not wanting to dissemble with you; it must be absolutely clear: We are inviting cooperation. Everyone

who is inclined to be involved in this will meet with support from the government, the political leadership and, all the more, from our economic and business circles. We have to think over how to develop commerce—I do not know—if duty on our goods exported to the United States reaches 75%...[changes thought] Well, how can you trade like that? What kind of commerce is that? In my view, that is the way that the United States treats—who? Representatives of some underdeveloped countries.

But how can the Soviet Union reconcile itself to this kind of attitude, a disrespectful attitude toward the state? This perplexes our people. Let us think how to rid ourselves of these shackles. We want it to be profitable for you; we understand that cooperation does not succeed if there are no profits and an interest in it. Let us think in such a way that it is in our interest to go into the U.S. market with our goods. You do not treat anyone in the way you do us. Why? If today we agree to change our relationship, to restructure relations—political, economic, and cultural relations—to involve the broad mass of the people in the exchanges, to bring our people closer together and to create the preconditions for cooperation, then perhaps we would get friendly relations, in the long term. So you have to start by clearing away these obstacles, including the obstacles that have been created in the economy.

For example, I very much welcome the idea of a consortium. It came from the U.S. side. On the other hand, our people were very much interested—our industrialists, representatives of our national economy—and have already formed their own consortium. So when the centers of control of these consortia are determined, they can get into contact. I think that a meeting is already planned in the near future, and we welcome the appearance of other consortia. This is, I think, a very interesting idea, because we have the kind of projects that are beyond any one firm, there are very big projects. So we need a joining of forces. Think it over. We would welcome this.

The joint enterprise. This is also a new form. Incidentally, we concluded our talks with the President with a final document, and in that there is a note concerning commerce, a good note that gives business the opportunity of getting support from this joint statement by me and the President, which welcomes, and favors it as a stimulus for economic ties and welcomes new forms such as the creation of joint enterprises. So you now have a political document that will serve to help you to embark on wider contacts and ties.

You know, I would like to end my speech on this note. I invite you to cooperate. I know that before me sit people that one can place into the category of realists. They can for a long time reflect and appraise whether it is worthwhile having anything to do with this or that question, with this or that problem. But I also know that they are capable of understanding realities, of appreciating them, and of moving in the direction of new approaches and new realities. [end recording]

[Announcer] A frank and constructive exchange of views took place at the meeting on the subject of the development of Soviet-U.S. relations and the normalization of trade and economic exchanges between the two countries. In summing up the results of the meeting, Comrade Gorbachev said:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I simply attach great significance to the fact of our meeting and conversation today. Coming to this meeting, you and I naturally understood that we would not be able here in this circle to consider the entire range of problems connected with the implemention of our intentions for expanding economic cooperation. But I welcome the spirit of the meeting, and the spirit of the conversation, the spirit of interestedness and optimism which has been expressed here from our and your side. As they say in Russia, the ice has begun to break, the icebreaker will come. We promise you on behalf of the leadership of the country—I say this both to our economic centers which are involved in foreign economic ties and trade and to you, and above all to the doyen, the ASTEC [American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council] body, and personally to those who, so to speak, have for a long time been conducting business with us—Mr Hammer, Kendall, and others—that we will support with great interest your guests, so that these guests should already in the near future be crowned with the finding of real forms of cooperation and that it should grow in the interests of our peoples and the two states. Naturally, the interests of both companies and our enterprises will then be satisfied. I thank you for coming to this meeting. I thank you for bringing to this meeting a good mood, a mood in favor of supporting the expansion of economic ties between the countries. I thank you for the appreciation as a whole of the visit. I would like to say the following: We are also of the same view. The visit has lived up to our hopes and has caused enormous interest both among our people and in the whole world. Let us work so that everything upon which we have agreed does not remain declarations but rather becomes real policy, real ties, and real life. Thank you. [applause] [end recording]

Gorbachevs Meet Schoolchildren

LD111145 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0903 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington, 11 December, (TASS special correspondent)—M.S. Gorbachev met Thursday with a group of U.S. students from the "Direct Connection" organization, which supports the strengthening of mutual understanding and the expansion of contacts between young people of the United States and the USSR.

Welcoming their efforts to establish links with their Soviet counterparts, M.S. Gorbachev said the following: Soon the Soviet and U.S. youngsters will bear on their

shoulders their countries' concerns. It is necessary to be ready for this. It is important to realize that you are partners, that you can and must live in peace and friendship. I do not believe our peoples and our youngsters are hostile to each other. If there is something like that, then it is the result of a shortage of information or of ignorance.

I know how quickly everything is decided when young people meet. I am very pleased to see young people who are full of initiative and whose interests are not restricted to personal problems. It is good that you are thinking about the fate of your country and about links between peoples, with the young people from the USSR and other countries. This does you honor.

In his conversation with me, President Reagan supported the idea of developing contacts between our young people. In the final document we signed there is a mention of expanding contacts between the Soviet and U.S. peoples, particularly among young people. So you now have in your hands a political document and it should provide you with impetus. Whoever knocks loudly at the door will have it opened for him.

The U.S. young men and women were presented with an album of children's drawings produced by entrants in a competition that is held annually in the USSR.

Departure Reported

LD110408 Moscow TASS in English 0403 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December to TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev left Washington today after paying an official visit to the United States.

Eight p.m. local time. Soviet and American flags were raised at the Andrews Air Force Base. A guard of honour was lined up on the tarmac. A 21-salvo artillery salute was fired.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and his wife were seen off by Vice President of the United States George Bush and his wife, official representatives of the White House and the Department of State.

Children presented them with bouquets of flowers.

Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of foreign affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir Kamentsev, First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR Sergey Akhromeyev, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Chernyayev left together with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The sendoff party included the Soviet Ambassador in the United States Yuriy Dubinin and the United States Ambassador in the USSR Jack Matlock.

As the motorcade with a motorcycle escort drove to the airport Mikhail Gorbachev was greeted by residents of Washington.

Fitzwater Sums Up Results

LD110616 Moscow TASS in English 0549 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev reports:

President of the United States Ronald Reagan holds that the summit meeting was a great success. White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said this summing up the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting at the final briefing at the International Press Centre in the Mariott Hotel.

The White House spokesman said that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles had been signed, important arrangements reached in the discussion of the question on strategic offensive arms during the official visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the USA. Understanding had been reached on regional problems and the course had been outlined in this area for the months to come. The joint document adopted on the results of the summit meeting noted that the meeting had achieved practical and concrete results in every area of Soviet-American relations, the White House spokesman said.

Another high-ranking representative of the administration who asked that his name should not be given emphasized that the talks between general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan had been frank and constructive. The signing of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, broadly welcomed in the United States and the Soviet Union had been a major event of the Soviet-American summit.

Reagan TV Address After Summit

LD110730 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiev reports:

U.S. President has described the summit meeting as "three historic days here in Washington in which Mr. Gorbachev and I continued to build a foundation for better relations between our governments and our peoples".

Speaking on the national television upon the end of the summit meeting, he pointed out that the signing of the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty was "only a first step, but still a crucial one towards building a more durable peace". In his opinion, that step was, perhaps, "the most important taken since World War II to slow down the arms buildup".

The U.S. President described the signing of the INF Treaty as a "landmark in post-war history" and emphasized that it was establishing a new verification and control regime "with far-reaching implications". "This is why I believe this treaty will not only lessen the threat of war but can also speed along a process that may someday remove that threat entirely", President Reagan said. "This treaty—and all that we have achieved during this summit—signals broader understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union".

President Reagan pointed out that "Soviet-American relations are no longer focused only on arms control issues: They now cover a far broader agenda".

"Now that the treaty has been signed," the President went on to say, "it will be submitted to the Senate for the next step, the ratification process. I am confident that the Senate will now act in an expeditious way to fulfill its duty under our constitution." He said he was going to meet with the leadership of Congress Friday morning.

The head of the administration pointed out that during their candid exchanges in Washington the leaders of the two countries had agreed on the necessity to "redouble our efforts to reach agreements on reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet long-range or strategic nuclear arms"...at the earliest possible date. "We have instructed our delegations in Geneva accordingly", he said.

At the same time, the President reiterated a firm allegiance of the U.S. Administration to the "Star Wars" program. "I made it clear that our SDI program will continue, and that when we have a defense ready to deploy—we will do so".

Summing up the overall results of the Washington summit meeting, the President emphasized again that "this summit was a clear success: We made progress on each item in our four-part agenda. Mr. Gorbachev and I have agreed in several months in Moscow to continue what we have achieved in these past three days. I believe there is reason for both hope and optimism".

According to the CNN Television Company, the summit meeting really ended on a positive note. It pointed out that the results of the summit meeting were regarded as movement in the right direction.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Statement

LD111036 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 11 Dec 87

["Joint Soviet-U.S. Summit Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington December 11 TASS—Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States of America, met in Washington on December 7-10, 1987.

Attending the meeting on the Soviet side were member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir M. Kamentsev, Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and First Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey F. Akhromeyev, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy S. Chernyayev, head of the General Department of the CPSU Central Committee Valeriy I. Boldin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh, Ambassador of the USSR to the United States of America Yuriy V. Dubinin, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Viktor P. Karpov, and Ambassador-at-Large Aleksey A. Obukhov.

Attending on the U.S. side were Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci, Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker, Jr., Acting Assistant to the President Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell, Counselor of the Department of State Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Paul H. Nitze, Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Ambassador Edward L. Rowny, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William J. Crowe, Hr., Ambassador of the U.S. to the USSR Jack F. Matlock, and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne L. Ridgway.

During the course of the official visit, which had been agreed during the two leaders' November 1985 meeting in Geneva, the general secretary and the President held comprehensive and detailed discussions on the full range of issues between the two countries, including arms reductions, human rights and humanitarian issues, settlement of regional conflicts, and bilateral relations. The talks were candid and constructive, reflecting both the continuing differences between the two sides, and their understanding that these differences are not insurmountable obstacles to progress in areas of mutual interest.

They reaffirmed their strong commitment to a vigorous dialogue encompassing the whole of the relationship.

The leaders reviewed progress to date in fulfilling the broad agenda they agreed at Geneva and advanced at Reykjavik. They took particular satisfaction in the conclusion over the last two years of important agreements in some areas of this agenda.

The general secretary and the President affirmed the fundamental importance of their meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik, which laid the basis for concrete steps in a process intended to improve strategic stability and reduce the risk of conflict. They will continue to be guided by their solemn conviction that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. They are determined to prevent any war between the United States and the Soviet Union, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

The two leaders recognized the special responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States to search for realistic ways to prevent confrontation and to promote a more sustainable and stable relationship between their countries. To this end, they agreed to intensify dialogue and to encourage emerging trends towards constructive cooperation in all areas of their relations. They are convinced that in so doing they will also contribute, with other nations, to the building of a safer world as humanity enters the third millenium. I. Arms Control [subhead] The INF Treaty [subhead]

The two leaders signed the treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. This treaty is historic both for its objective—the complete elimination of an entire class of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms—and for the innovative character and scope of its verification provisions. This mutual accomplishment makes a vital contribution to greater stability. Nuclear and Space Talks [subhead]

The general secretary and the President discussed the negotiations on reductions in strategic offensive arms. They noted the considerable progress which has been made toward conclusion of a treaty implementing the principle of 50-percent reductions. They agreed to instruct their negotiators in Geneva to work toward the completion of the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms and all integral documents at the earliest possible meeting of leaders of state in the first half of 1988. Recognizing that areas of agreement and disagreement are recorded in detail in the joint draft treaty text, they agreed to instruct their negotiators to accelerate resolution of issues within the joint draft treaty text including early agreement on provisions for effective verification.

In so doing, the negotiators should build upon the agreements on 50-percent reductions achieved at Reykjavik as subsequently developed and now reflected in the agreed portions of the joint draft S.T.A.R.T. treaty text being developed in Geneva, including agreement on ceilings of no more than 1,600 strategic offensive delivery systems, 6,000 warheads, 1,540 warheads on 154 heavy missiles; the agreed rule of account for heavy bombers and their nuclear armament, and an agreement that as a result of the reductions the aggregate throw-weight of the Soviet Union's ICBM's and SLBM's will be reduced to a level approximately 50-percent below the existing level, and this level will not be exceeded by either side. Such an agreement will be recorded in a mutually satisfactory manner.

As priority tasks, they should focus on the following issues:

(A) The additional steps necessary to ensure that the reductions enhance strategic stability. This will include a ceiling of 4,900 on the aggregate number of ICBM plus SLBM warheads within the 6,000 total.

(B) The counting rules governing the number of long-range, nuclear-armed air-launched cruise missiles (ALCM's) to be attributed to each type of heavy bomber. The delegation shall define concrete rules in this area.

(C). The counting rules with respect to existing ballistic missiles. The sides proceed from the assumption that existing types of ballistic missiles are deployed with the following numbers of warheads. In the United States: Peacekeeper (MX):10, Minuteman III:3, Minuteman II:1, Trident I:8, Poseidon:10. In the Soviet Union: SS-17:4, SS-19:6, SS-18:10, SS-24:10, SS-25:1, SS-11:1, SS-13:1, SS-N-6:1, SS-N-8:1, SS-N-17:1, SS-N-18:7, SS-N-20:10 and SS-N-23:4. Procedures will be developed that enable verification of the number of warheads on deployed ballistic missiles of each specific type. In the event either side changes the number of warheads declared for a type of deployed ballistic missiles, the sides shall notify each other in advance. There shall also be agreement on how to account for warheads on future types of ballistic missiles covered by the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.

(D). The sides shall find a mutually acceptable solution to the question of limiting the deployment of long-range nuclear-armed SLCM's. Such limitations will not involve counting long-range, nuclear-armed SLCM's within the 6,000 warheads and 1,600 strategic offensive delivery system limits. The sides committed themselves to establish ceilings on such missiles, and to seek mutually acceptable and effective methods of verification of such limitations, which could include the employment of national technical means, cooperative measures and on-site inspection.

(E). Building upon the provisions of the treaty on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the measures by which the provisions of the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms can be verified will, at a minimum include:

1. Data exchanges, to include declarations by each side of the number and location of weapon systems limited by the treaty and of facilities at which such sytems are located and appropriate notifications. These facilities will include locations and facilities for production and final assembly, storage, testing, and deployment of systems covered by this treaty. Such declarations will be exchanged between the sides before the treaty is signed and updated periodically after entry into force.

2. Baseline inspection to verify the accuracy of these declarations promptly after entry into force of the treaty.

3. On-site observation of the elimination of strategic systems necessary to achieve the agreed limits.

4. Continuous on-site monitoring of the perimeter and portals of critical production and support facilities to confirm the output of these facilities.

5. Short-notice on-site inspection of:

(I) declared location during the process of reducing to agreed limits;

(II) Locations where systems covered by this treaty remain after achieving the agreed limits, and

(III) Locations where such systems have been located (formerly [as received] declared facilities).

6. The right to implement, in accordance with agreed-upon procedures, short-notice inspections at locations where either side considers covert deployment, production, storage or repair of strategic offensive arms could be occuring.

7. Provisions prohibiting the use of concealment or other activities which impede verification by national technical means. Such provisions would include a ban on telemetry excryption and would allow for full access to all telemetric information broadcast during missile flight.

8. Measures designed to enhance observation of activities related to reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms by national technical means. These would include open displays of treaty-limited items at missile bases, bomber bases, and submarine ports at locations and times chosen by the inspecting party.

Taking into account the preparation of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms, the leaders of the two countries also instructed their delegations in Geneva to work out an agreement that would commit the sides to observe the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, while conducting their research, deployment, and testing as required, which are permitted by the ABM Treaty, and not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, for a specified period of time. Intensive discussions of strategic stability shall begin not later that three years before the end of the specified period, after which, in the event the sides have not agreed otherwise, each side will be free to decide its course of action. Such an agreement must have the same legal status as the treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms, the ABM Treaty, and other similar, legally binding agreements. This agreement will be recorded in a mutually satisfactory manner. Therefore, they direct their delegations to address these issues on a priority basis.

The sides shall discuss ways to ensure predictability in the development of the U.S.-Soviet strategic relationship under conditions of strategic stability, to reduce the risk of nuclear war. Other Arms Control Issues [subhead]

The President and the general secretary reviewed a broad range of other issues concerning arms limitation and reduction. The sides emphasized the importance of productive negotiations on security matters and advancing in the main areas of arms limitation and reduction through equitable, verifiable agreements that enhance security and stability. Nuclear Testing [subhead]

The two leaders welcomed the opening on November 9, 1987, of full-scale, step-by-step negotiations, in accordance with the joint statement adopted in Washington on September 17, 1987, by the secretary of state of the United States and the minister of foreign affairs of the USSR:

The Soviet and U.S. sides have agreed to begin before December 1, 1987, full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations which will be conducted in a single forum. In these negotiations the sides as the first step will agree upon effective verification measures which will make it possible to ratify the USSR-U.S. Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976, and proceed to negotiating further intermediate limitations on nuclear testing leading to the ultimate objective of the complete cessation of nuclear testing as part of an effective disarmament process. This process, among other things, would pursue, as the first priority, the goal of the reduction of nuclear weapons and, ultimately, their elimination. For the purpose of the elaboration of improved verification measures of the USSR-U.S. treaties of 1974 and 1976 the sides intend to design and conduct joint verification experiments at each other's test sites. These verification measures will, to the extent appropriate, be used in further nuclear test limitation agreements which may subsequently be reached.

The leaders also welcomed the prompt agreement by the sides to exchange experts visits to each other's nuclear testing stes in January 1988 and to design and subsequently to conduct a joint verification experiment at

each other's test site. The terms of reference for the experiment are set forth in the statement issues on December 9, 1987, by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States. The leaders noted the value of these agreements for developing more effective measures to verify compliance with the provisions of the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. Nuclear Non-Proliferation [subhead]

The general secretary and the President reaffirmed the continued commitment of the Soviet Union and the United States to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and in particular to strengthening the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The two leaders expressed satisfaction at the adherence since their last meeting of additional parties to the treaty and confirmed their intent to make, together with other states, additional efforts to achieve universal adherence to the treaty.

The general secretary and the President expressed support for international cooperation in nuclear safety and for efforts to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, under further strengthened IAEA safeguards and appropriate export controls for nuclear materials, equipment and technology. The leaders agreed that bilateral consultations on non-proliferation were constructive and useful, and should continue. Nuclear Risk Reduction Centres [subhead]

The leaders welcomed the signing on September 15, 1987, in Washington of the agreement to establish nuclear risk reduction centres in their capitals. The agreement will be implemented promptly. Chemical Weapons [subhead]

The leaders expressed their commitment to negotiation of a verifiable, comprehensive and effective international convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. They welcomed progress to date and reaffirmed the need for intensified negotiations toward conclusion of a truly global and verifiable convention encompassing all chemical weapons-capable states. The Soviet Union and the United States are in favor of greater openness and intensified confidence-building with respect to chemical weapons both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. They agreed to continue periodic discussions by experts on the growing problem of chemical weapons proliferation and use. Conventional Forces [subhead]

The general secretary and the President discussed the importance of the task of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe in the area of armed forces and conventional armaments. The two leaders spoke in favor of early completion of the work in Vienna on the mandate for negotiations on this issue, so that substantive negotiations may be started at the earliest time with a view to elaborating concrete measures. They also noted that the implementation of the provisions of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is an important factor in strengthening mutual understanding and enhancing stability, and spoke in favor of continuing and consolidating this process. The general secretary and the President agreed to instruct their appropriate representatives to intensify efforts to achieve solutions to outstanding issues.

They discussed the Vienna (Mutual and Balanced Forces negotiations. Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [subhead]

They coordination, together with the other conference on Security and Cooperation during the Vienna CSCE follow-up successful conclusion, based on balanced principal areas of the Helsinki Final Act and Madrid concluding document. II. Human Rights and Humanitarian Concerns [subhead]

The leaders held a thorough and candid discussion of human rights and humanitarian questions and their place in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. III. Regional Issues [subhead]

The general secretary and the President engaged in a wide-ranging, frank and businesslike discussion of regional questions, including Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, the Middle East, Kampuchea, southern Africa, Central America and other issues. They acknowledged serious differences but agreed on the importance of their regular exchange of views. The two leaders noted the increasing importance of settling regional conflicts to reduce international tensions and to improve East-West relations. They agreed that the goal of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States on these issues should be to help the parties to regional conflicts find peaceful solutions that advance their independence, freedom and security. Both leaders emphasized the importance of enhancing the capacity of the United Nations and other international institutions to contribute to the resolution of regional conflicts. IV. Bilateral Affairs [subhead]

The general secretary and the President reviewed in detail the state of Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations. They recognized the utility of further expanding and strengthening bilateral contacts, exchanges and cooperation. Bilateral Negotiations [subhead]

Having reviewed the state of ongoing U.S.-Soviet negotiations on a number of specific bilateral issues, the two leaders called for intensified efforts by their representatives, aimed at reaching mutually advantageous agreements on: commercial maritime issues; fishing; marine search and rescue; radio navigational systems; the USSR-U.S. maritime boundary; and cooperation in the field of transportation and other areas.

They noted with satisfaction agreement on the expansion, within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. air transport agreement, of direct air passenger service, including joint operation of the Moscow-New York route by Aeroflot and Pan American Airways, and on the renewal of the Soviet-U.S. world ocean agreement. People-to-People Contacts and Exchanges [subhead]

The two sides took note of progress in implementing the Soviet-U.S. general exchanges agreement in the area of education, science, culture and sports, signed at their November 1985 Geneva meeting, and agreed to continue efforts to eliminate obstacles to further progress in these areas. They expressed satisfaction with plans to celebrate jointly the 30th anniversary of the first exchanges agreement in January 1988.

The two leaders reaffirmed the importance of contacts and exchanges in broadening understanding between their peoples. They noted with particular satisfaction the progress made in the development of people-to-people contacts under the initiative they launched at their 1985 meeting in Geneva—a process which has involved tens of thousands of Soviet and U.S. citizens over the past two years. The leaders reaffirmed their strong commitment further to expand such contacts, including among the young. Global Climate and Environmental Change Initiative [subhead]

With reference to their November 1985 agreement in Geneva to cooperate in the preservation of the environment, the two leaders approved a bilateral initiative to pursue joint studies in global climate and environmental change through cooperation in areas of mutual concern, such as protection and conservation of stratospheric ozone, and through increased data exchanges pursuant to the Soviet-U.S. Environmental Protection Agreement and the Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America Concerning Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purpose. In this context, there will be a detailed study on the climate of the future. The two sides will continue to promote broad international and bilateral cooperation in the increasingly important area of global climate and environmental change. Cooperative Activities [subhead]

The general secretary and the President supported further cooperation among scientists of the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries in utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes. They affirmed the intention of the USSR and the U.S. to cooperate with the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATO) and Japan, under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in the quadripartite conceptual design of a fusion test reactor.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction progress under the bilateral agreement on peaceful uses of atomic energy towards establishing a permanent working group in the field of nuclear reactor safety, and expressed their readiness to develop further cooperation in this area.

The general secretary and the President agreed to develop bilateral cooperation in combatting international narcotics trafficking. They agreed that appropriate initial consultations would be held for these purposes in early 1988.

They also agreed to build on recent contacts to develop more effective cooperation in ensuring the security of air and maritime transportation.

The two leaders exchanged views on means of encouraging expanded contacts and cooperation on issues relating to the Arctic. They expressed support for the development of bilateral and regional cooperation among the Arctic countries on these matters, including coordination of scientific research and protection of the region's environment.

The two leaders welcomed the conclusion on negotiations to institutionalize the COSPAS/SARSAT space-based global search and rescue system, operated jointly by the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Canada. Trade [subhead]

The two sides stated their strong support for the expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations. They instructed their trade ministers to convene the U.S.-USSR Joint Commercial Commission in order to develop concrete proposals to achieve that objective, including within the framework of the long-term agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to facilitate economic, industrial, and technical cooperation. They agreed that commercially viable joint ventures complying with the laws and regulations of both countries could play a role in the further development of commercial relations. Diplomatic Missions [subhead]

Both sides agreed on the importance of adequate, secure facilities for their respective diplomatic and consular establishments, and emphasized the need to approach problems relating to the functioning of embassies and consulates general constructively and on the basis of reciprocity. V. Further meetings [subhead]

The general secretary and the President agreed that official contacts at all levels should be further expanded and intensified, with the goal of achieving practical and concrete results in all areas of the Soviet-U.S. relationship.

General Secretary Gorbachev renewed the invitation he extended during the Geneva summit for President Reagan to visit the Soviet Union. The President accepted with pleasure. The visit will take place in the first half of 1988.

Spokesmen on 3d Meeting

LD101218 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0637 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington, 10 December (TASS)—Marlin Fitzwater, assistant to the U.S. President for press relations, has described the third conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan held on Wednesday as "very productive, particularly from the point of view of determining the potential spheres of accords between the two leaders."

He informed the briefing that the meeting in the Oval Office of the White House lasted almost 2 hours and the discussions were "intensive and on specific issues." "Both leaders," Fitzwater added, "are happy with yesterday's signing of the treaty on medium-range missiles and how it has been received in the world. They believe that it marks a turning point in U.S.-Soviet relations and we ought not to miss a moment in our quest for prolonged peace." Regional matters, in particular Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq conflict and ways for settling it, were discussed at the meeting, he stressed. According to Fitzwater "the comments by Mikhail Gorbachev on the matter of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan were a reassuring signal." The discussion of issues of arms control and in particular the treaty on strategic offensive armaments was also continued. Fitzwater pointed out that "preliminary discussions" in working groups on these latter matters were "useful".

"At present we are discussing the matter of what steps we ought to take after the signing of the treaty on medium-range missiles," Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR ministry of Foreign Affairs said. "We believe that our countries do have a possibility of signing a treaty on a 50% reduction in strategic nuclear forces next year. We are also discussing the ABM Treaty issue." Gerasimov also assessed the conversation between the Soviet and U.S. leaders as useful and productive. He said that that the meeting that took place on Wednesday morning between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Congressional leaders was "a useful and constructive exchange of opinions."

To the complaints from a number of journalists that not all journalists will be able to get a place at Mikhail Gorbachev's news conference in the USSR Embassy scheduled for Thursday, he said that "everything possible has been done" to get as many people as possible into it. But Gerasimov reminded them, it is quite impossible to accomodate there the 5,000 or even more correspondents accredited to cover the summit meeting. Interest in the forthcoming news conference is so enormous that all journalists are endeavoring to get into it, and the organizers of the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the press will have to put in a lot of effort to satisfy all the requests.

More on 9 Dec Shultz Speech

PM101539 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading "Political Course Aimed at Better Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Dec—U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz gave a luncheon in honor of M.S. Gorbachev at the State Department today.

It was attended on the Soviet side by E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, A.F. Dobrynin, V.M. Kamentsev, S.F. Akhromeyev, A.S. Chernyayev, and scientific and cultural figures.

It was attended on the U.S. side by J. Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives; W. Rehnquist, chief justice of the United States; F. Carlucci, U.S. defense secretary; W. Verity, U.S. trade secretary; and business representatives.

G. Shultz delivered a speech to those present. Speech by G. Shultz [subhead]

Mr General Secretary, Mrs Gorbachev, distinguished guests!

Benjamin Franklin, the father of American diplomacy, who corresponded with Catherine the Great and had this hall named for him, would be delighted if he could be here with us today. After all, this is the first time the head of the Soviet state has visited the U.S. State Department. Welcome!

Your arrival here, Mr General Secretary, and the prospect of a visit by President Reagan to Moscow should cause us to think about the general guiding principles in our relations. What should we both be keeping in mind?

First, ours is a relationship as important as it is unique. It is important because we each bear an immense burden of responsibility for leading events of world importance; it is unique because the nuclear era demands that we make contact, despite our profound differences. As you said in your book, Mr General Secretary: There is no getting away from each other.

Second, it is still not going to be easy for us to solve the problems which arise between us. We have different world outlooks, political systems, and national interests. Our basic values, ideals, systems, and interests will continue to exist despite the growing need to work together.

Third, we must take a realistic view of things, avoiding extremes either of hostility or, on the contrary, euphoria as a result of the ups and downs in our relationship. The

best approach to our relationship is one Ben Franklin himself may have suggested: While trying to solve specific problems, take a realistic, pragmatic, businesslike approach to matters.

Fourth, we must be perfectly clear and frank in our discussions on our differences. That is why at this summit meeting we are stressing the fundamental importance we attach to the question of human rights, as set forth in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. As the EEC heads of government said on 5 December, respect for human rights and freedom is an essential condition of trust, understanding, and cooperation. We have also been very frank on regional issues. You have spoken your mind to us without any hesitation. We have made some progress. As President Reagan said, we owe each other the tribute of total frankness, which will help us to achieve results.

Fifth, we must look to the future without forgetting the lessons of the past. All too often we face the past and move backward into the future. In 5 or 10 years time our world will be quite different from the world we know today—and from the postwar world of the last 40 years which has conditioned so much of our thinking. Franklin, like his contemporary, Lomonosov, was ready and eager for the future. We must be the same. The material substance of daily life is being transformed. The pace of collaboration between people is increasing. Scientific, economic, and political issues now have global dimension. Through all these changes runs the thread of knowledge: its discovery, its rapid transmission in the form of information, and the education essential to enable us to use it.

This brings me to my sixth point, that is, recognition of the fact that an open approach to ideas, information, and contacts is the key to success in the future. The conceptual breakthroughs embodied in the INF Treaty provisions on verification and on-site inspection are but one example of the powerful impact already felt as a result of this open approach in a key area of our relationship.

We must aspire to constant progress toward a more open, more predictable, more stable, and more constructive relationship. In this time of change, the complex interplay of international relations complicates the solution of issues arising in our bilateral relations. But new forms of collaboration also open up new possibilities for cooperation and progress. We must not miss this opportunity.

In conclusion G. Shultz proposed a toast to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and his wife, the U.S. President and his wife, and the Soviet and American peoples.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee gave a speech in reply.

More on Gorbachev to Congressmen

PM101625 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition pp 2-3

[TASS report: "To Act Realistically in All Areas"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Dec—M.S. Gorbachev had a meeting here today with leaders of the U.S. Congress. J. Wright, T. Foley, R. Michel, T. Coelho, T. Lott, R. Byrd, R. Dole, A. Cranston, and. Simpson participated in it.

Present on the Soviet side were E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary spoke at the meeting.

Addressing the congressmen, M.S. Gorbachev said:

Yesterday, through common efforts and by meeting each other half way, we arrived at a unique event in the history not only of our relations but of international relations. A very great step was taken. The first reaction in the world to the act of signing the treaty shows what a response it has aroused in people. In this connection I would like to invite you to a very important reflection: How we—the United States and the Soviet Union—will live together in this world. I, for example, feel that among broad circles of the Soviet people there is a great desire to change our relations for the better, and I perceive that a similar, consonant movement is also manifesting itself among the U.S. public. But unless these sentiments of people are grasped in political institutions, including such decisive ones as the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, the USSR Government and the U.S. Administration, this process will not receive a proper boost.

On the eve of my departure for Washington I had several international meetings, in particular with the Australian prime minister and the Zambian president. They came from completely opposite ends of the earth, but all our conversations began with the same thing: You are going to visit the United States, so do everything to make your relations start changing for the better. So you and I bear tremendous responsibility not only before our own peoples—people throughout the world want our relations to go right. A certain shift in our relations is also apparent on the political level. More senators and congressmen have begun coming to the Soviet Union, and we always attach great significance to this. You, too, have evidently seen from your own personal experience that we seek to ensure that the dialogue along these lines is earnest and is deepened and broadened. This is the first thought that I wanted to express.

Second. Ahead of us lies the complex disarmament process. We are, all the same, in favor of lightening this load, so that it weighs less both on America and on the Soviet Union. When I say this, many of those whom I would call shortsighted people start arguing: Yes, things are hard for Gorbachev, since he has come to America and speaks of reducing the load of the arms race for the Soviet Union. But I must say: This is not the point. It is a matter of understanding the essence of this problem. For the arms race very greatly complicates both the political dialogue and other ties and affects economic processes in our countries. We see the mountains of stockpiled weapons on which we are sitting as a result of the arms race. Just think what would happen if they suddenly functioned and got out of your and our control! If you and I realize this, we must move toward each other. I welcome the fact that through a difficult dialogue realistic thought has recently been making headway both in public opinion and political circles in America and in public opinion and political circles in the Soviet Union. We believe that the time has come for our political institutions, the chief, supreme institutions, to be aware of this urgent need and to realize it in politics.

Yesterday we took the first step. Of course, it affects just 5% of nuclear arms, but I believe that its political significance is considerably greater: This very difficult step has at last been taken. It seems to me that, since the U.S. side and also the Soviet side have all the time been very captious toward each other and had a presentiment that this is not a simple matter, you must bear in mind that, for the first time, this has not been an easy matter in our country. I told the President yesterday that many questions are being put in our society, including to the general secretary and the government, openly and in the press, not to mention letters, as to whether the Soviet leadership is doing the right thing in undertaking to reduce three or four times more nuclear weapons. Incidentally, the Gallup Institute and our Institute of Public Opinion conducted an independent poll both in America and in our country, and it turned out that half the Soviet Union's population puts a question: We have to weigh up whether the conclusion of this treaty will harm the Soviet Union's security. This is something new even for us, I will tell you. We feel that we will have to do some work both with public opinion and in the Supreme Soviet. For the first time, too, the ratification process will probably be not so easy for us. But I would like to say, since I am linked with this treaty and with all the specifics of its preparation, that it is a serious and very thoroughly elaborated treaty. And, most importantly, we have achieved forms of verification that are unprecedented. This is not only important for this treaty but also arouses confidence that we will be able, when it comes to strategic arms, to profit from this accumulated experience. This is an example of how it is possible, even in such a sensitive issue as verification, to find a coincidence of interests and to realize them.

The members of Congress who spoke thanked M.S. Gorbachev for his substantive and sincere talk, during which very important questions of Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation were discussed in a spirit of complete frankness. J. Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives, said: Everything that is happening in Washington today, including the agreement signed yesterday, represents the first good step on the path to better mutual understanding and more fruitful relations between our great countries. You have been exceptionally frank with us today, and we admire what you are doing and trying to do in the Soviet Union. I only regret that not all my colleagues were able to have the opportunity to participate in such a frank discussion. I am absolutely certain that your country's people, as well as our country's people, sincerely want peace, and it is our duty to do everything in our power to achieve this aim.

R. Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, reported that he intends to begin discussing the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles in the Senate next March, and he voiced the hope that the ratification process will be completed in April. He expressed concern at the slow pace of the talks on conventional arms.

R. Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate, advocated the repeal of discriminatory restrictions in Soviet-U.S. trade. He recalled that as much as 2 years ago he had advocated abandoning the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which, as is known, prevents the normal development of economic relations between the two countries.

We welcome the new thinking in the Soviet Union, A. Cranston, deputy leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, said. He voiced the hope that the two countries' leaders will succeed in elaborating an agreement on the reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals.

Gorbachev at Photo Exhibition

LD102116 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the State Department George Shultz and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev have viewed a photographic exhibition about the Soviet Union prepared by TASS. It included photographs of the start of the visit by the Soviet leader. [video shows Gorbachev and Shultz and their spouses being shown around exhibition. Entourage includes Dobrynin]

Officials' Activities, Commentaries

Bush on Treaty Ratification

LD102239 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] New York, 10 Dec (TASS)—"For the first time since the nuclear age began, we have concluded a treaty that will reduce nuclear arms and will practically eliminate entire categories, said U.S. Vice President George Bush. It is a good step and is a basis for going further.

In the interview for NBC Television, Bush voiced confidence that the U.S. Senate will ratify the treaty on medium- amd shorter-range nuclear missiles signed on 8 December in Washington by the USSR and U.S. leaders. "The Senate has to do it," said the vice president. He spoke categorically against the addition of any kind of amendments to the treaty, which would make its ratification dependent on other problems, including the problem of reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. "I believe that reducing conventional armaments and armed forces is exceptionally important," said Bush. However, the main thing is that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the defense ministers of all West European countries, Margaret Thatcher, and Helmut Kohl, all support ratification of the treaty in the same form as it was signed, without any strings attached. The President and I adhere to this position.

Shultz Leaves To Brief Allies

LD110341 Moscow TASS in English 0243 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 11 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz left Thursday evening on a tour of a number of West European and north European countries. The main aim of the tour is to inform the United States' allies in NATO of the results of the Soviet-American summit in Washington. He will visit Brussels, Copenhagen, Oslo, Bonn and London. In the Belgian capital Shultz will take part in a regular two-day meeting of foreign ministers of NATO countries. In Norway and Denmark, the secretary of state will meet with the leaders of the governments of those countries. Talks between Shultz and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl will be held in Bonn on Tuesday. Later he will meet with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London. On Wednesday, December 16 he will return to Washington.

Baker Predicts Ratification

LD102050 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—The White House chief of staff today described the INF Treaty signed at the Soviet-American summit here as "an historic agreement."

In an interview with the CBS television network, Howard Baker observed that the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and American Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed on the first day of the visit.

The leaders of both countries, he said, "have been hard at it ever since trying to hammer out the general design of another treaty for another summit—the strategic arms reduction treaty."

Baker said that progress had been made in that area, but it was "slow" and "difficult." Nevertheless, he noted, "the prospects for a second summit are pretty good."

Asked about chances of the INF Treaty being ratified by the U.S. Senate and about opposition to the treaty on the part of certain forces, Baker replied, "When my former colleagues on the Senate floor read this and see and appreciate the extraordinary progress that's been made on such things as verification...they will conclude that it's an historic, highly desirable treaty."

"And I predict it will be ratified," the White House chief of staff pointed out.

Walters: INF Treaty 'Good Start'

LD102241 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2150 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] New York, 11 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

"It is a good start. Things are going very well." This is how Vernon Walters, the U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, commented on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. We, he told a TASS correspondent, have made a good start on arms control by signing a very good agreement in this sphere. We are finding out a lot about each other. We hope that our affairs will proceed no less well in other areas, too—for example, the solution of the problems around Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf and other problems.

Turner Remarks on Verification

PM101707 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 p 1

[Report by special correspondent A. Petruk: "The First Step Has Been Taken"]

[Text] About "31,200 Hiroshimas:" According to U.S. scientists' estimates, this is the equivalent of the lethal destructive force of warheads to be destroyed in accordance with the treaty signed in Washington. But even that does not constitute the historic significance of the event. As the Soviet leader stressed in his speech a few minutes before the treaty was signed, let 8 December "be a date they inscribe in the textbooks. A date marking a watershed separating the era of the buildup of the war threat from the era of the demilitarization of mankind's life."

"Until today we have talked only of arms control," USSR Foreign Ministry Official Spokesman G. Gerasimov said at a briefing for journalists. "In past years, several agreements have been concluded: ABM, SALT II, and others. But they have all been about control. Now, for the first time in history, a treaty has been signed on destroying nuclear weapons, which is the first step on the path to complete disarmament."

So the treaty has been signed. But for it to come into effect, it has to be ratified. "What arguments against ratification of the treaty are being put forward by its opponents?"—this is the question I put to former CIA Director Stansfield Turner.

A brief digression. It is an irony of U.S. political life, but it frequently happens, that high-placed administration figures, after they have retired, start to consider the realities of international politics and express honest opinions. The case of the former CIA director, now an active fighter for disarmament and improvement of relations between our countries, is a striking example of this.

"The history of Soviet-American relations in the arms control sphere shows that opponents of the treaty will focus attention on questions of verifying its observance. But I do not see any cause for concern there, and not only because the treaty envisages five different types of verification. First, according to the treaty, the medium- and shorter-range missiles will be destroyed. Verification of this condition's fulfillment is not a serious problem; in fact, the whereabouts of every missile is known for certain. Second, the missiles of that class constitute approximately 10% of the USSR nuclear arsenal. It would be unrealistic for the Soviet side, while being able in principle to aim some of its strategic missiles in the eastern part of the country, part of the remaining 90%, on targets in Western Europe, to decide to violate the treaty with all the ensuing serious international consequences. Third, and this is perhaps the chief argument, the verification system laid down in the treaty will undoubtedly be an example, a model for the conclusion of other agreements, including one of a 50% reduction in strategic nuclear armaments. Bearing in mind the Soviet Union's sincere interest in a 50% reduction in strategic missiles, it would be illogical to suppose that the USSR would violate the Treaty on Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles."

The next few weeks will show whether the opponents of treaty ratification will abide by the laws of logic.

Two working groups were set up on the first day of the visit. The first, on disarmament questions, is headed on the Soviet side by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister, and on the U.S. side by Ambassador P. Nitze. The second, on human rights, regional problems, and bilateral relations, is headed on the Soviet side by A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, and on the U.S. side by R. Ridgway, U.S. assistant secretary of state.

Raisa Gorbacheva's Activities

LD102017 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—Under the official programme, Raisa Gorbacheva met Nancy Reagan, wife of the U.S. President, on her invitation in the White House.

They spoke about the importance of direct communication between Soviet people and Americans, which becomes broader and more versatile. The more there are person-to-person contacts, the better we will know each other, the more reliable is the way towards mutual understanding.

Raisa Gorbacheva had a meeting with Pamela Harriman, a U.S. public figure of prominence. The name of Harriman is one of the more known American names in the Soviet Union. It is associated with the personality of Averell Harriman, an eminent politician and diplomat who had advocated for many years an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations and cooperation between the two countries. Pamela Harriman carries on this lofty cause.

Raisa Gorbacheva familiarized herself with the collection of the National Art Gallery, paying main attention to the creativity of American artists and sculptors. The importance of growing exchanges in works of art between Soviet and American museums was noted. Such exchanges contribute towards mutual spiritual enrichment.

There was a meeting in the Soviet Embassy in Washington on December 10 between Raisa Gorbacheva and representatives of the Armenian General Charity Alliance. On behalf of the leadership of this public organisation which is widely known both in the United States and in other countries, L. Manukyan, vice-president of the alliance, handed over as a gift to Raisa Gorbacheva, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Cultural Foundation Board, a manuscript in the old Slavonic language of the 17th century (the gift of the Sogoyan couple) and a painting by I.K. Aivazovsky (the gift of the Shaginyan couple). These works are of considerable historical and art value.

On behalf of the Soviet Cultural Foundation, Raisa Gorbacheva warmly thanked for this patriotic gesture. She said it was a display of good sentiments towards the Soviet Union. The Soviet people, the understanding of the objectives the Soviet Cultural Foundation set to itself. [sentence as received] These works of art will be evaluated at their true worth by the Soviet public.

The Armenian General Charity Alliance maintains close ties with Soviet Armenia as the Armenians' historical homeland and the center of Armenian culture. Cultural exchanges with Soviet public organisations are being developed propitiously.

A tremendous importance of the ties of fellow citizens living abroad with the Soviet homeland was noted.

'Historic Dialogue' Cited

PM101531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA special correspondents Ye. Grigorev, T. Kolesnichenko, and V. Linnik dispatch under the "At the Center of Attention Today" rubric: "Historic Dialogue"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Dec—On the very edge of the "Ellipse"—the green lawn behind the White House—a hushed group of people stare fixedly at the presidential residence. As if they are trying to guess what is now happening in its shuttered offices. "Very serious matters," one of those assembled said, nodding his head. The rapt silence of the rest convinces us that they agree with him.

This small scene which we watched today has proved to be symbolic. The words "hope" and "expectation" can be heard increasingly frequently in Washington's electric atmosphere. This is nothing to be surprised about of course. The whole world is now living in anticipation of longed-for changes on our planet, a breakthrough toward great common sense, political realism, and the realization of the communality of human interests. The past 2 days of intensive Soviet-U.S. summit talks already permit us to talk about the well-founded nature of these hopes.

The gently sloping South Lawn of the White House is crowded with people invited to the ceremony to meet the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. Close to the presidential residence is a rostrum set on a low dais; an honor guard is drawn up opposite. The U.S. and USSR national anthems are heard. A 21-gun artillery salute. In the ensuing hush everyone hears the first brief statements, which set the tone for the talks. It is a question both of the capabilities and the responsibility of our two countries in the modern world. The very fact of the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles indicates that they can justify this high responsibility at critical stages of history.

So just what is happening in the White House's Oval Office where face-to-face meetings are being held; what is happening at the full-delegation talks; and, finally, what is happening in the conversations between the two leaders during the protocol measures? This is no secret. As at the previous meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik, the talks center on fundamental questions on which mankind's survival and the peace of future generations depend. Above all they are talking about how to progress to the next, more important goal—the achievement of an agreement on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive armaments in the context of a firm guarantee of strategic stability.

The Soviet side is persistently striving for this and is also conducting a serious and frank dialogue on other questions of Soviet-U.S. relations. The U.S. President has also publicly expressed the hope that "we will achieve progress in the work of reaching another agreement which will lead to a 50% reduction in our strategic nuclear arsenals." But the task is none the easier for that. For here we are talking about reductions on an immeasurably larger scale than is the case with medium- and shorter-range missiles. One of the two working groups set up during the talks (the second is discussing regional, humanitarian issues and bilateral relations) is tackling this problem. The volume of work is extremely great. But there are very real prospects for progress toward this aim. Everything depends on goodwill, the surmounting of psychological barriers, and the desire to seek and find mutually acceptable solutions.

We will not anticipate and try to guess what political results will mark the Washington meeting. But there is already one result, and it delights both Americans and Soviet people and all the peoples. The chroniclers have recorded the fact that the two great powers took a historic step at 1402 hours Washington time 8 December when in the East Room of the White House M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Thus a truly historic landmark has been established in people's age-old desire for a world without war. In all 16 signatures on the treaty and the related documents set the seal before all mankind on the determination of the USSR and the United States to implement this desire.

The impact here is tremendous. People have grown weary of confrontation and unease and have yearned for good news—and suddenly here is an accord on the elimination of a section of nuclear armaments. In the words of ABC-TV, "The political and military consequences of the agreement will extend far into the future." This is in fact the case. For the first time people have taken a step on the road to a nonnuclear world. For the first time the trend toward the senseless buildup of destructive weapons has been reversed. The present treaty marked a victory for common sense and—as certain American colleagues acknowledge in conversations with us—a victory for the new political thinking.

The leaders and leading members of Congress attended the signing ceremony. It is already well-known that the treaty will be submitted for examination by the legislators in January. To judge by their first reactions most senators have a positive opinion of the document signed yesterday. "My reaction is positive," S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, who will play a large role in the ratification process, said, inter alia. As ABC also pointed out in this connection, the agreement's opponents from among the extreme right-wing senators are in the minority.

But this is in the future. Now everyone is agitated by the question: What next? According to U.S. officials, the "summit" demonstrates good preconditions for the USSR and the United States to progress toward a 50% reduction in strategic offensive armaments.

The meeting is continuing. Its second day today has been filled to the brim with talks and conversations. The meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and prominent Americans representing various spheres of activity have elicited a great response. There was a meeting with congressional leaders this morning. The CPSU Central

Committee general secretary's conversation with representatives of the U.S. public made a profound impression on the participants. Professor John Galbraith, the well-known scientist and author of world-renowned works on the modern capitalist economy, was also among them.

"It was, beyond any doubt, an exceptionally interesting meeting, and I am able to make comparisons because I have met many statesmen in my life," he told us. "Reaction to the Soviet leader's speech, as the discussion which took place immediately after it showed, is extremely positive. The meeting voiced many practical recommendations regarding specific ways to improve our relations—from joint enterprise to expanding political, cultural, and scientific contacts and exchange programs between people."

"What do you think about the Washington summit?" we asked Galbraith.

"I believe it is the most important political event in the last 15 years. Many factors have made it possible. First, the tremendous growth in the United States and in the Soviet Union of sentiments in favor of peace. Second, the fear of communism is disappearing in America and the siege mentality inculcated by long decades of capitalist encirclement is becoming a thing of the past in the USSR. Finally, one of the main reasons which lead to the summit is the present dangerous military situation in the world. Neither the most ideologically committed American nor the most ideologically committed Russian will be able to distinguish between the ashes of capitalism and the ashes of communism. There can be no victor in a nuclear conflict. Therefore the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles which has just been signed is the first, albeit small, but exceptionally important step in eliminating the nuclear threat. Other, no less substantial—more substantial, in fact—steps must follow it," the scientist concluded.

This is an evaluation which reflects the current prevailing sentiments in U S. political, scientific, and business circles. It is characteristic, in particular, that the New York Stock Exchange has reacted to the signing of the Treaty on Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles with a higher Dow Jones index.

And something that goes beyond the framework of protocol. A word about human warmth. You should have seen Van Cliburn, accompanying himself on the piano, sing "Moscow Nights" in the very room where the treaty was signed. The guests, including the Americans, joined in the singing with him.

That evening we managed to have a word with some of the President's guests. Former Secretary of State H. Kissinger did not feel quite at ease when we asked whether he envied the incumbent administration for being able to sign this treaty.

"I regret that we were not able to propose such a treaty," he stated.

But Kissinger would not be Kissinger if he had not added that this treaty "could be considered a historic event only in the event of subsequent conventional arms reductions."

"You repeat this thesis all the time. Surely the Soviet Union has proposed measures in this sphere?"

"Your plan consists in reducing one after the other, while I would like to do it all at once."

Let this be on the conscience of the former secretary state, who on one pretext or another is effectively opposing any Soviet-U.S. accords.

However, this is how our conversation ended.

"You are well-known to people in our country," we told him.

"You heard!" Kissinger exclaimed loudly, interrupting us, "PRAVDA admits that I am popular in Russia."

Yes," we said. "You are quite well-known, but many readers put this question to us in their letters: Why has Kissinger, one of the 'architects of detente,' radically changed his position?"

Kissinger was thoughtful. And then he said: "I will firmly advocate the ratification of the treaty which has been signed."

If the position of the former secretary of state is changing for the better, this can only be welcomed. But the present secretary, G. Shultz, feels confident today: "I agree that the treaty is a historic event." But then we asked: What is the next step? Can we expect progress toward a treaty on a sharp reduction in strategic offensive armaments? "Intensive talks have already begun," he answered. "This is very important."

Yes, this is very important. But it is even more important that they are crowned with success.

'New Approaches' Urged

PM101605 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Vladimir Kuzar telephone dispatch: "Victory for Common Sense"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Dec—Thanks to television millions of people around the world directly participated in the signing ceremony of the treaty on elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles, a treaty which, beyond a shadow of a doubt, will go down in history.

The two leaders had to sign 16 times in order to make the document, which marked the first practical step along the road to a nonnuclear world, official. However, years of sustained work lie behind the protocol side of the ceremony. During those years, it was realized that our complex and multifaceted world was becoming increasingly interlinked and interdependent, that the security of all the peoples could only be ensured by ensuring the security of each people, that the accumulated nuclear arsenals not only cannot guarantee peace but are themselves a direct threat to mankind's existence.

The new political thinking is finding the going hard in international re tions. However, the process is irreversible. The treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles is confirmation of that. In his speech at the treaty signing ceremony, M.S. Gorbachev noted that what has been achieved is just a beginning, a start on nuclear disarmament, although, as is well-known, even the longest journey starts with a first step.

The official visit to the United States by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has generated an unprecedented level of political activity in the U.S. capital. We journalists, having arrived here to cover this historic event, are having considerable difficulties: We have to go all over, see and learn everything, and exchange impressions with our colleagues in the international press center located in the Marriott Hotel. At the same time, one does not want to miss the U.S. TV broadcasts, which are giving extensive coverage to the events taking place. The main event, needless to say, has been the signing of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. Almost all TV pundits have been pointing out the very tight and expeditious timetable laid down by the treaty for destroying the missiles. Note is also being taken of the reliability of the measures for verifying and monitoring the signed treaty's fulfillment. During the entire period of the destruction of the missiles, observers are stressing, there will be a tremendous workload on the Soviet and U.S. nuclear risk reduction centers. It is these centers that will process all notifications, requests, and decisions pertaining to inspections. [inspektsiya]

Reporting all these details, U.S. TV makes active use of various diagrams, documentary film, and direct relays from Moscow and certain military bases in West Europe where nuclear missiles are deployed. The television is also constantly acquainting U.S. citizens with international reaction to the agreement that has been reached. Each time it is stressed that the Europeans are particularly satisfied about the destruction of the Pershing-2's sited in their countries. These missiles, because of their short flight time (6-8 minutes), pose a particular threat to peace.

Throughout yesterday, the TV companies were talking to politicians, journalists, and leading arms control specialists. U.S. Administration spokesmen such as Secretary of State G. Shultz, Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, and a number of senators and congressmen appeared on television. They all spoke optimistically about opportunities opening up on questions of strengthening world peace in connection with the treaty signing.

Nonetheless, the U.S. press is noting, there are people on Capitol Hill who are trying to deform the treaty with various amendments or link its ratification to other conditions. Extreme right-wing anti-Soviet circles are continuing their provocative activity. Even at the very moment that M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan were meeting in the White House, one could hear acrimonious chanting in Lafayette Park from those who have been programmed to whip up military hysteria and anti-Sovietism. A hostile rally was held near the Soviet Embassy building.

Most Americans condemn the actions of the opponents of detente. You can see this when you talk with them. "Tell Gorbachev I support his peace-loving policy," I was told by a clerk in a small store located near the Vista Hotel, where most of the Soviet journalists are staying. "A very great event has taken place today. Our countries have finally signed a treaty to partially eliminate nuclear arms. I would like to think that it will not be the last," was the opinion of a Georgetown University student.

Yes, today there is still a risk of a nuclear catastrophe. But people of goodwill believe in the possibility of eliminating nuclear arsenals and await the resolution of other vital problems facing mankind. To do this we need to resolutely continue radical restructuring of international relations and adopt new approaches to problems of national and universal security.

Glazunov Comments on Summit

LD101520 Moscow World Service in English 1505 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] This is the third and last day of the Soviet-American summit, and again a tight schedule: talks, meetings, discussion and protocol. And in conclusion, Mikhail Gorbachev's news conference and Ronald Reagan's television address that is to sum up the results of the summit. Here is what Radio Moscow Political Observer Viktor Glazunov writes:

It is already possible to say that those 3 days in Washington have changed the world. and changed it for the better, and first of all because the treaty on eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles was signed on the first day. The choice in favor of nuclear disarmament has been made, in favor of the new principles of security. For ages it was claimed that the more weapons, the more safety. But now a departure has started from that way of thinking and acting which, in the past, played such a fatal role. For the first time, the chain is being broken which

has fettered mankind to the chariot of the arms race. Mankind is given a big chance to embark on the road leading to a nuclear-free world.

Hardly 2 years have passed since Mikhail Gorbachev advanced the stage by stage program of building such a world by the year 2000. Illusion, utopia—such was the first reaction of many persons to that program. But then a whole series of Soviet initiatives followed and, as they say, the ice was broken. The treaty signed in Washington provides for the elimination of nuclear weapons whose power capacity is equal to 200 Second World Wars. And that is only a few percent of the world's nuclear stockpiles. So, you can easily imagine what a danger menaces the world in which we live. It is simply surprising that certain circles still cling strongly to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, which has made mankind a hostage of nuclear death. In the light of that, the talk about who has won sounds absurd. It is common sense that has won, which dictates the need to free mankind from nuclear captivity.

The treaty on eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles is a demonstration of new thinking: rejection of many stereotypes and ideas of the past. As Mikhail Gorbachev said, mankind is beginning to realize that it has had enough of wars and that it is necessary to do away with them once and for all. The signing of the treaty is without any doubt the peak in world politics. It is a landmark in the annals of the everlasting desire of people to have a world without war. But that is only the beginning, the start of nuclear disarmament. This is what Mikhail Gorbachev said in one of his speeches in Washington:

[Begin Gorbachev recording, fading to announcer translation] Mikhail Gorbachev said that the task today is to build a nuclear free world. The road to it is complicated and hard, but it is within the power of new thinking, and there, too, changes are needed—changes in the minds and changes in actions. The epoch of great geographical discoveries was not confined to one caravelle and one mainland, and Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the movement towards a nuclear-free world cannot be limited to reclaiming one or two islands known as medium-range missiles and shorther-range missiles. And Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the hope that they would at once start going further for the purpose of reducing and then eliminating strategic offensive weapons, which make up the main and decisive part of the nuclear arsenals.

The main objective of the Washington talks is preparing a new treaty on reducing by half strategic arms in conditions of a full guarantee of strategic stability. The strategic weapons of the two countries account for 96% of nuclear explosives. Consequently, the matter in question is making a big breakthrough toward a nuclear-free world. Of course, the road to that is complicated and difficult. But, it is within the power of new thinking, and the meeting in Washington has already borne that out.

Charikov on U.S. Media

LD101524 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Igor Charikov commentary]

[Text] It is natural that the most immediate response to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting comes from the United States. As U.S. Vice President Bush pointed out, this reaction bears witness to the fact that the accord enjoys the wide support of the American people. At the same time, he noted that a certain part of the rightist circles are opposed to the treaty. One must say that Western press organs reflecting opinions of these rightist forces have for a long time been publishing materials whose meaning and aim can be boiled down to this: Certain fears are being sown among West Europeans about the so-called Soviet threat in the event that the nuclear umbrella, in the guise of U.S. medium-range missiles, is eliminated.

U.S. press organs have been zealously pursuing this campaign. The British press has also been keeping up with them. I am handing the microphone over to my colleague, Commentataor Igor Charikov.

[Charikov] To our deep regret, there are more than enough examples of what has been said above. Here are just some excerpts from lengthy articles published in major weeklies issued over the past few days:

Will Europe be able to stand on its own feet? When the INF Treaty is concluded, conventional weapons should be increased. Such is the title of an article in NEWSWEEK magazine dated 7 December.

Another weekly, this time a British one, DEFENCE WEEKLY, carries a detailed report on Soviet nuclear doctrine. The article is lengthy, but it opens a phrase that is quite provocative, I believe. I will quote: At first glance, the Soviet appeal to eliminate medium-range missiles and other classes of nuclear weapons seems to reflect an authentic desire for essential disarmament. In other words, the author of the article, one Joseph Badanski, questions the sincerity of our country's intentions which stand not only for arms control, but also for their elimination.

The American magazine NEWSWEEK, already mentioned here, renders the scenario of a possible attack on Western Europe by the Soviet troops with the same provocative aim in mind. This scenario, which is referred to as "a bad dream" by its very authors, is accompanied by a diagram of deployment of the Soviet Armed Forces in Western Europe. According to that scenario, as soon as Europe is bereft of U.S. nuclear missiles, the Soviet Union will immediately commit an aggression and block if off from the United States, and then Europe, together with its ally, the United States, will be left two alternatives: either to use nuclear weapons or to surrender.

Well, I will cite another example. None other than Henry Kissinger as early as this October wrote a detailed article on prospects for development of East-West relations following the signing of the INF Treaty. He arrives at the conclusion that ridding the European Continent of nuclear weapons will create an advantage for the Warsaw Pact countries that will have to be compensated for with conventional weapons.

What are all those articles, all those loony scenarios and detailed diagrams of offensives by Soviet troops, and inept guesswork for? Forces opposing the detente policy, which are interested in preserving tension and the policy line aimed at confrontation, are far from intending to abandon their positions. They are mounting a counter-offensive against the incipient process of searching for compromise in the most difficult field of arms control. These conservative forces, using the expression I found in NEWSWEEK, have already opened fire on the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, whose one fruitful result was signing the INF Treaty in Washington.

Not being in any way inhibited by the fact that these days, the Soviet leader is on U.S. soil, the American right wing is already professing that there are obstacles in the way of ratifying the treaty. They boast that they will block Senate ratification with a multitude of amendments and specifications, and that they will procrastinate until the next projected summit meeting.

One's attitude to such threats can be different, of course. One can take them or leave them. But one thing is clear: There still remain in the United States a considerable number of woes in regard to the fruitful Soviet-U.S. dialogue. There are also quite a few of them in the Republican Party camp, which seeks to retain its place in the White House. One of the contenders for nomination as a presidential candidate, Robert Dole, makes no bones of his reserved attitude toward the treaty.

Naturally, all that does not assist in strengthening the generally favorable climate around the first step on the path to disarmament. But another thing is gratifying, which is more important: The United States has been becoming increasingly aware of the need for new thinking, for a radically new approach to all bilateral and international issues.

Beglov Pre-Summit Comments

AU101326 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 7 Dec 87 p 2

[Commentary by NOVOSTI Observer Spartak Beglov: "Before the Summit in Washington"]

[Text] The work concluded in Geneva on the treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles has been welcomed everywhere as a good omen for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington. It constitutes at the same time an important stage in the process of negotiations on the entire range of disarmament questions between the USSR and the United States.

If we take 7-8 January 1985 as the beginning of the talks, the intensive dialogue on these questions has been going on for almost 3 years. This process received a strong, new impetus with the historic declaration of Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January 1986, in which he developed a plan to destroy all nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction by the beginning of the next century.

At the Reykjavik meeting in October last year, the highest representative of the Soviet Union outlined the concrete parameters of a possible far-reaching agreement on these questions and suggested they be solved as a package. But as the U.S. side was not ready to do this, Moscow took the position in February this year that it would be appropriate to undo this "package." Therefore, it proposed to tackle in an accelerated way a separate agreement on medium-range nuclear missiles and to continue at the same time preparations for an agreement on real disarmament measures and discussion of the related questions of preventing an arms race in space.

The present stage of the Geneva negotiating process required almost 7 months before it showed the first important result. As a matter of fact, this is not such a long time, when we take into account the fact that the first historic agreement on real disarmament measures has been brought about. Besides, it was necessary to overcome apparently insurmountable barriers on the way to it. Based on the negative experiences of previous attempts to reduce the weapons arsenals, and on all accumulated suspicions, distrust, and inhibitions appearing every time on this way, the Soviet side showed its readiness to conduct negotiations in the spirit of equal interests.

The word "concession" does not fit very well in the context of the new political thinking, if one understands by it that one party has "won" something, or the other has "lost" something. But even if we use this word, we have every reason to say that the agreements reached are the sum of mutual concessions.

Let us take only the question of control. In past weeks, the U.S. policy makers tried to present to the general public the difficulties that arose in formulating appropriate stipulations of the treaty, in the sense that this was exclusively caused by the strict and consistent tackling of this question by the U.S. Government. If such versions are projected in order to weaken the opposition by some influential groups in the United States against the missile agreement, one could put up with them as something unavoidable from the point of view of the U.S. Administration's domestic policy interests. If, however, the final objective is to suggest to the whole world that Washington is the keeper of the grail of strict control and Moscow rejects it, then this constitutes an attempt to use unsuitable means.

At the climax of the summer negotiations, I had the opportunity to be in Geneva. The first thing that struck me at that time were the difficulties which had become evident in establishing the verification procedure. As a Soviet delegate said to me, the U.S. side was then not ready to accept some of the comprehensive measures proposed by us. This applied especially to the problem of missile reduction control on the territory of third states, to the proposal on inspections in enterprises producing missiles, and so on. By the way, the idea to admit inspectors from one side to the enterprises of the other side comes from none other than the Soviets.

The political highlight of the final stage was undoubtedly last June when Moscow submitted the proposal to destroy medium-range missiles and operational and tactical missiles not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world. This was clearly and mainly done with respect to the security wishes and security interests of the Asian countries.

Further From Beglov

AU101410 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Dec 87 pp 1, 4

[Report "specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "The Long Road Begins With the First Step"]

[Text] Washington, 8 December (NOVOSTI Political Observer Spartak Beglov)—By the time this dispatch appears in the newspaper, the medium- and shorter-range missile treaty will have been signed by the Soviet and U.S. leaders, and general attention will be turned toward other problems of disarmament under discussion at the Washington summit. The long road begins with the first step. The INF Treaty fulfilled this role (or will fulfill it, when it has been ratified). What more can we expect?

The political observers who have gathered in the U.S. capital from all over the world have been trying for some days already to elucidate the chances for the treaty on a 50% reduction in the strategic offensive arms of the two great powers. If the discussion of the key problems relating to the strategic arms treaty makes sufficient progress in Washington, then it will be possible for this treaty to be signed by the two leaders in Moscow when President Reagan arrives there at the end of next spring.

On the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival, the discussions in Washington lobbies concentrated around two main issues. The first was whether the two countries would be able to determine mutually acceptable sublevels for the individual components of the triad, consisting of intercontinental ballistic missiles, sea-based ballistic missiles, and air-based strategic nuclear forces. The second issue was whether they would succeed in unravelling the tangle surrounding observance of the ABM Treaty and the U.S. intentions to continue the SDI program.

As far as the first issue is concerned, everyone tried to catch the latest news from Geneva on possible compromises achieved at the last minute and the fixing of some "ceilings" or other in numerical terms. At the same time, the view is gaining ground among Soviet experts that the main thing is not the figures, but the general tendency. If the Soviet and American sides demonstrate common readiness to adopt bold decisions, then it will not be difficult to draw up instructions for the delegations to allow them to specify radical reductions in the treaty document.

One turns now to the question of whether the SDI program will, as previously, form an obstacle on the path to concluding a strategic offensive arms treaty. The view predominates among Soviet experts that the SDI program is a purely American concern and that it is the Americans who will finally have to decide if spending colossal sums on the program in order to pursue illusions is justified. Yes, the Soviet specialists are unanimous in believing that, even if the research on individual sectors of the SDI program achieves some result, no successful solution will be found within the whole complex of problems. In other words, time will show that the SDI program itself is becoming senseless, all the more when one bears in mind that it will require more and more new expenditures and efforts to implement it.

It is not the SDI program, but the ABM Treaty that is the subject of the talks. The nonabandonment of this treaty by the USSR and the United States is an essential condition for concluding the strategic offensive arms treaty. Things are definitely simplified by the fact that the U.S. Congress approved a 1988 military budget that limits SDI financing to an amount that would not allow the U.S. Administration to contravene the strict interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

However, the main issue is the time period that the two countries will agree on for abandoning the ABM Treaty when they work out basic articles of the strategic offensive arms treaty. The U.S. side insists on a 7-year period, which, as it is not hard to calculate, coincides with the presumed deadline for the preparatory work on deploying the SDI antimissile system. The USSR proposes a longer period, namely 10 years, as it wishes to give the American side sufficient time to convince itself that it is not SDI but the realization of the strategic offensive arms treaty that deserves a further concentration of their efforts, if the process of reducing strategic arms gains momentum and the prospect appears of new global reductions. Then, why will the SDI program be necessary?

If we review once again the arms control agenda from a broader aspect, then we can forecast with great confidence that the Washington dialogue will also touch on problems of completely banning chemical weapons and of speeding up negotiations for a complete and general ban on nuclear weapons tests. Finally, there is the issue of conventional arms, one of the most sensitive areas. A

lot is said in the West on this subject, but in fact it is the socialist bloc that is putting forward specific businesslike proposals on this issue for large reductions. It is time to give the "green light" for the successful conclusion of negotiations in this aspect of disarmament.

More on Gorbachev's Popularity

PM101207 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Through American Eyes"]

[Text] THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper has printed an article headed "The Closer You Get to Gorbachev the Better He Looks." It reports that, according to the latest public opinion poll, 66% of Americans are by and large well-disposed toward Gorbachev, compared with 22% who have an unfavorable opinion of him.

Compared with November 1985 the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's popularity has risen by 20%, and more among Republicans than among Democrats.

Some 71% of those questioned said that Gorbachev is different from previous Soviet leaders. Only 24% reckon him the same as his predecessors.

Some 57% believe that Gorbachev is making a sincere effort to reduce nuclear weapons, although 32% said that he is only engaged in a propaganda exercise.

THE WASHINGTON POST reported that, because of his charm, Soviet leader M. Gorbachev's glasnost and restructuring have become the height of fashion in the United States.

A travel bureau predicts that by the end of the year the number of trips to the USSR will be 60% higher than 1986.

American's Letter Printed

PM091503 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 First Edition p 4

["American Woman's Open Letter to M.S. Gorbachev": "I Wish You Success"]

[Text] Esteemed General Secretary!

I want to wish you success at the upcoming meeting with our President. Many of us in the West know about Soviet people's ardent desire for and love of peace.

People say that during the summit our President intends to lecture you on human rights. If he actually does this, I ask you, show him this letter and ask him why 10% of his country's people go hungry every day. Please ask him why 25% of American young people live in poverty and why in some areas the number of people who fail to graduate from school reaches or exceeds 50%. Ask him also why in the world's richest country elderly people and cripples have to live on the street and go without medical aid. Finally, General Secretary, please ask our President whether, instead of creating yet another armament system (for "Star Wars"), it is not better to provide his country's population with basic human rights.

In conclusion I want to wish you success once again and thank you for your efforts to make the planet considerably more secure for all its inhabitants. Soviet people have every reason to be proud of you and themselves.

Doris L. Langdon, 1688 John Hill Road, Eureka, California, U.S.A.

United States & Canada

U.S. Shuttle To Orbit 'Classified' Satellite

LD110300 Moscow TASS in English 0028 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Washington December 10 TASS—Preliminary tests of the on-board systems of the space shuttle "Atlantis" began at the John Kennedy Space Flight Center on the Canaveral cape, Florida [as received]. If no malfunctions are revealed during the two-month test, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) will get down to direct preparations of the spacecraft for the flight which is scheduled for September 1988, UPI reported. It is also reported that during this flight the "Atlantis" will have to put into an orbit a classified military satellite.

Following the disaster involving the space shuttle "Challenger", the flights under the "shuttle" programme were temporarily suspended. Many systems of the spaceships of this series were substantially modified. For instance, crew safety systems underwent major changes.

Shabayev Criticizes U.S. Mideast Policy

LD101726 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS –TASS Political News Analyst Boris Shabayev writes:

The perseverance now shown in Washington in raising the issue of regional conflicts is attention-catching. This is perhaps just the effect they want as they go out of their way to portray the United States as the main advocate of settling such conflicts.

How constructively the U.S. Administration is prepared to facilitate these settlements, however, should be judged by its actions and real policies rather than its words. And that's where a sizable gap shows.

One good example is the Middle East crisis. The key to it is a fair solution to the Palestinian problem.

Palestinian organizations in Israeli-occupied territories have called on U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to examine this problem with a view to ensuring the national rights of the Palestinian people to exercise self-determination and set up an independent state of their own.

As a priority practical step, those organizations demanded measures for convening an international conference on a Middle East peace settlement to be attended by the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all sides concerned, including the PLO—the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

What is the U.S. position on these issues of vital significance to achieving peace in the Middle East? To begin with, in Washington they obstinately ignore the lawful rights of the Palestinian people and refuse to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization and to deal with it, thereby blocking any resolution of the Palestinian problem.

Washington has made a countless number of attempts along with Tel Aviv to find puppets among the Palestinians as a substitute for the PLO and force the American-Israeli idea of a "Settlement" on the Palestinian people.

None of those attempts has succeeded, though, and this testifies elogquently, albeit not eloquently enough for Washington, to the power and prestige of the PLO.

The U.S. Administration's stand on the proposed international conference on the Middle East is by no means constructive either. While in words appearing to be in favor of it, in fact Washington has been putting spokes in the wheels both by refusing to recognize the PLO as a full-fledged conferee and by openly striving to help Israel make such a meeting into a smokescreen for separate deals with Arab regimes that would bow to pressure from the "strategic allies".

The Palestinian organizations in their address said that the continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands and construction of Israeli settlements there would mean a continued war, bloodletting, suffering and oppression in the region.

It is this policy of the ally, however, that Washington officialdom and America's Zionist organizations have been encouraging and funding.

Issuing a warning against illusions about the U.S. playing a positive role as regards the resolution of Arab problems, the Jordanian newspaper AL-RA'Y several days ago reminded readers of the anti-Palestinian position of the United States and its unseemly actions in relation to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The following conclusion prompts itself: This policy by the U.S. Administration indicates no desire whatsoever for a settlement in the Middle East.

China

CPC's Zhao, DKP's Mies View Party Relations

LD092224 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Beijing December 9 TASS—At a meeting with Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, [DKP] here Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party [CPC] Central Committee, said that in relations among communist parties it was necessary, first, to look ahead, second, to look for a basis

on which to settle differences and, third, strive for mutual understanding, the newspaper "RENMIN RIBAO", the organ of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, writes.

Herbert Mies heads the delegation of the German Communist Party visiting here.

In the past, relations among communist parties went through quite a few lessons. They lacked the spirit of mutual understanding. Now, we have all learnt lessons from this so that our relations be better, Zhao Ziyang said.

Li Xiannian Welcomes INF Treaty Signing

LD102333 Moscow TASS in English 2324 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Beijing December 10 TASS—"The international situation has been developing this year in a favourable direction. We welcome the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed by President of the United States Ronald Reagan and leader of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev", President of the PRC Li Xiannian said at a meeting with heads of diplomatic representations of a number of countries.

He said that the treaty signed is just an initial step, as only a small portion of nuclear arsenals is to be eliminated. Questions of strategic nuclear arms, of chemical and biological weapons are even more important. Therefore a long road towards disarmament is covered. The Chinese leader expressed the wish that the United States and the Soviet Union should continue the talks in this direction. "What peoples of different countries want is peace, not war, construction, not destruction", Li Xiannian said.

Radio Moscow on Significance of INF Treaty

OW101217 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting has been the focus of the news media of various countries in recent days. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Washington on 7 December. Today is the first day of the official meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan. Some 6,000 news reporters are covering their meetings. People are eagerly looking forward to and pinning their ardent hope on this summit meeting. The various countries in the Asia-Pacific region are also eagerly awaiting the specific outcome of this meeting. In this connection, our station commentator comments as follows: On 7 December 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the U.S. naval base in Pearl Harbor. Former U.S. President Roosevelt said: December 7 is a day of shame for the United States. Forty-six years later, President Reagan said: December 7 is the day when the whole world begins to embark on the road of peace and security. The signing of an agreement to scrap the medium- and short-range guided missiles is of great historical significance.

Although this treaty is one between the Soviet Union and the United States, it is actually of an international nature, because it will scrap the nuclear guided missiles on the territories of nine nations. The implementation of this treaty will greatly affect the security in the world, particularly the security in the Asia-Pacific region. It must be emphatically pointed out that when the Soviet Union proposed the Soviet-U.S. treaty with the global double-zero option, it had also taken into consideration the aspiration of the Asian countries. The Soviet Union and the United States have deployed nuclear weapons of all types with the latest means of delivery in the Asia-Pacific region. Their willingness to destroy about 30% of the nuclear weapons is of great significance for the Asia-Pacific region. All offensive weapons pose a serious threat to the Asia-Pacific region. The U. S. strategic weapons are divided into three categories—intercontinental strategic guide missiles, nuclear submarines, and strategic bombers. Most of them are regularly aimed at the Asia-Pacific region. In the Pacific region, the United States has deployed a large number of troops, more than 180 warships and over 1,100 planes most of which can carry nuclear weapons. The NUCLEAR AGE, a U.S. magazine, pointed out: The Asia-Pacific region has become a seed farm for the spread of the global nuclear war. The Pentagon strategists held that the Asia-Pacific region has become the second major spot after Europe for nuclear rivalry. Therefore, the Soviet-U.S. agreement to eliminate 50% of offensive strategic weapons will be of a decisive significance in eliminating military rivalry, including nuclear rivalry, and in ensuring the security in Asia. It is expected that this agreement will be discussed in the summit meeting in Washington and that it will be signed when Reagan pays a return visit to Moscow next year.

The elimination of 50% of offensive strategic weapons and then the elimination of all such offensive strategic weapons will create favorable conditions for the security of and cooperation among the Asian nations. The Soviet Union held that an agreement can be reached in nuclear disarmament, if both sides take into consideration the interests of the other side and seek to achieve a balance of such interests. Prior to the summit meeting in Washington, Gorbachev had stressed this point when he met with Australian Prime Minister Hawke in the Kremlin. What kind of things does the Soviet Union look forward to at the nuclear disarmament talks? A wise and realistic approach to nuclear disarmament is what the Soviet Union expects at the talks.

In order to remove all the obstacles on the road of building a nuclear free world, the Soviet Union is prepared to make a compromise. It must be understood that the INF Treaty is reached not because of this kind of stand adopted by the Soviet Union, but because the

Soviet Union seeks to carry out construction and keeps in its mind the aspiration of nuclear disarmament in Asia. The Soviet Union has more than once suggested that the United States convene a meeting with it on nuclear disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region in order to ensure the security in various countries. We believe that the agreement reached in Washington will greatly help eliminating nuclear armament in Asia and throughout the world.

Taiwanese 'Spies' Convicted, Sentenced in PRC

LD111123 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Beijing December 11 TASS—A group of spies acting on secret assignments from Taiwanese military intelligence have been convicted at a trial in the city of Chongquing.

Their leader was sentenced to death, his main accomplice to a life in jail and the three others to prison terms ranging from five to 15 years.

It was established during the preliminary investigation and confirmed at the trial that after illegally crossing into China in October 1986, the spies had begun collecting intelligence and conducting subversive activities.

They distributed counter-revolutionary leaflets and organized gatherings where the popular system of power and the policies of the Communist Party of China were smeared.

An end to their criminal activities was put in May 1987 when they were arrested by China's state security operatives.

Northeast Asia

Japan 'Wholeheartedly Welcomes' Summit Results

LD111024 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Tokyo December 11 TASS—The Japanese Government wholeheartedly welcomes the results of the Soviet-American summit talks in Washington. A statement to this effect was made at a press-conference in Tokyo today by Keizo Obuchi, secretary general of the Japanese Cabinet of Ministers.

"A source of special gratification for us is the signing of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate and shorter range missiles," he said. "We are epxressing hope for the attainment in the future of fruitful results also on the remaining outstanding issues, including the strategic nuclear weapons and human rights."

USSR, Japan Cooperate on Film on Arctic

LD071753 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—The Japanese broadcasting corporation NHK is going to produce a mini-series about ethnic groups inhabiting the North, the nature of Arctic seas and the history of great polar expeditions.

Nine of the 12 films will be made with the assistance and involvement of the Soviet Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

A committee spokesman told TASS that an NHK camera crew had left on a many-day tour of the Soviet Arctic coast to select filming sites.

They have already been to Chukotka, including the Providence Bay, Cape Uelen and Pevek Port, and are going east to Yakutiya and further on.

The Japanese group plan to visit, among other things, the Norilsk mining and dressing project, gas and oil fields in western Siberia, and the Kola Peninsula, where their journey will end in Murmansk in late January.

The subsequent shooting process is expected to take about a year.

"Since this is an immense amount of work, we began preparing a long ago, by reading the Soviet press and science literature and making acquaintance with the first Soviet polar explorers who took part in the legendary landing of Ivan Papanin's expedition on an ice floe in 1937," said Sejun Hata, the project's chief producer.

"The undertaking is a challenging one as no-one has ever attempted before to make a series of films for armchair travellers that will last for more than seven hours and cover the whole Soviet sector of the arctic," he continued.

The three remaining episodes will be filmed in Scandinavian countries, Canada, Greenland and Alaska. Hata said the words said by Mikhail Gorbachev during a recent visit to Murmansk that the Arctic should be a zone of peace and international cooperation would keynote the mini-series.

DPRK Government Welcomes INF Treaty Signing

LD110931 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Pyongyang Decemmber 10 TASS—The government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea welcome the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on eliminating intermediate-and shorter-range missiles, DPRK Foreign Ministry said in a statement released by the Korean Central News Agency here today.

The treaty, the document emphasised, is an important step towards eliminating all nuclear weapons and removing the nuclear threat. It opened the opportunity of advancing towards general nuclear disarmament.

ROK Students Call for Opposition Unity

OW101208 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1220 GMT 9 Dec 87

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Here are the new important details about the course of the pre-election struggle in South Korea. As you remember, comrades, the presidential elections should be held there 16 December. You also know that Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung, the opposition leaders, act without any coordination. This, naturally, disperses the opposition forces and reduces their leaders' chances to win the elections. The democratic public's appeal to the opposition leaders to unite has not been successful.

Now South Korean students have decided to strive for opposition unity. They are, as you can see, very active. [video shows a crowd of students]. Students occupied the headquarters of the leading opposition groupings in Seoul. They declared that they would resort to more resolute actions if the opposition leaders do not sort out their differences.

Soviet Delegation at WFDY Pyongyang Session

PM101249 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 p 3

[Own Correspondent A. Platkovskiy report: "Session of WFDY Executive Committee"]

[Text] Pyongyang—A session of the WFDY Executive Committee began in Pyongyang yesterday. Taking part in its work were delegates from 64 member organizations. Representatives of more than 30 international, regional, and national youth organizations were also invited. The Soviet delegation is headed by S. Chelnokov, chairman of the USSR Youth Organizations Committee.

The WFDY Executive Committee will examine topical questions of young people's participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament, consolidation of anti-imperialist solidarity, solution of present-day global problems, and cooperation during preparation for the 13th World Youth and Student Festival.

Kye Ung-tae, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee, welcomed the participants and guests on the Executive Committee's behalf.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Beam on Hun Sen-Sihanouk Meeting

Indochinese' Moves Welcomed

BK070511 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 6 Dec 87

[Text] In the past few days, international opinion has focussed its attention on events in Southeast Asia. This is not surprising because in this region people increasingly understand that all conflicts can be resolved through talks. Furthermore, some steps have already been taken toward resolving these problems through peaceful means and with the interests of all sides taken into account.

The meeting in Paris between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk brilliantly illustrated this. One of the main objectives of this meeting is national reconciliation, which the two sides discussed through the PRK Government's policy. This policy has drawn the attention of international opinion which has lent its support. This is not accidental.

Currently, people the world over believe that national reconciliation should play the decisive role in ending regional tension. The implementation of this policy will certainly pave the way toward ending the war between people of the same nationality, toward a solution to conflicting opinions among various political forces, and toward quickly resolving national issues. The statement on national reconciliation in Cambodia reflects the good will of this country's leaders and their readiness to search for a reasonable reconciliation for the sake of the nation's supreme interests.

According to political observers, the first meeting is part of the process to resolve regional conflicts, which in the past few years, constituted a major obstacle to reducing tension in Southeast Asia. Talks in Beijing between the delegations of Chinese and Lao foreign ministries also reflect an active search for peace and stability in the region. At these talks the two sides agreed to reestablish friendly relations between the two countries and exchange ambassadors. Although the two countries adhere to different positions on a number of international issues, as the Lao paper PASASON said, this step has created an atmosphere which helps to normalize the situation in the region.

In short, the constructive meeting and talks, which serve the interests of peace and security in the region and in the world, will continue. This has taken place first of all because of the good will of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, which are striving to clear up the atmosphere in Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union, along with other parties involved in this issue, is ready to contribute to the success of these positive moves.

Forms Foundation for Future

BK090320 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 8 Dec 87

[Station observer's commentary]

[Text] The meeting held a few days ago between Comrade Hun-Sen, head of the Cambodian government, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk just outside Paris has brought about significant results. Our observer writes:

Primarily, this meeting has become the foundation for the dialogue that the two sides have agreed to continue.

According to their joint communique, the dialogue was constructive. The two sides agreed that the conflict in Cambodia can be resolved only through political means, that is by the Cambodian people themselves through talks among all conflicting groups in order to reach national reconciliation.

This agreement indicates that the (? negative trend) created by outside forces has been overcome. In particular, they have overcome all attempts to solve the Cambodian problem through military means and to turn it into a source of permanent tension.

According to various observers, the meeting in France was made possible only after the PRK Government had declared its national reconciliation policy. The appeal, made in connection with the national reconciliation policy from Phnom Penh, has enjoyed a warm welcome from all those Cambodians who love their fatherland. Many Cambodians who, for one reason or another, went abroad, have now returned to their fatherland in order to contribute to national construction. Such an important point as the partial withdrawal of the Vietnamese Volunteer Army from Cambodia has also been fulfilled positively. The sixth withdrawal was completed at the end of November. We wish to recall that the two sides plan to withdraw all these troops in 1990 on the condition that there is no more outside interference in Cambodia's internal affairs and the use of foreign territory for this purpose is halted.

During the meeting in a Paris suburb, in line with the national reconciliation policy, the two sides mapped out plan for further implementation in accordance with the goal of settling the problem inside and around Cambodia. Based on [words indistinct], Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk appealed to other Cambodian warring groups to join in the negotiation so as to reach an appropriate agreement. In their joint communique, it was noted that immediately after the various Cambodian groups sign an agreement, an international conference will be held to guarantee the implementation of this agreement, Cambodia's independence, and peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Comments on the outcome of the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk are coming from various countries. Newspapers have carried reports on this meeting with such headlines as "the successful outcome of the dialogue" and "warm sign of stability". However, there were also different voices, and some have tried to distort facts about the points reached in France. This shows they are very unhappy to see that the national reconciliation policy has brought about effective results, thus creating favorable prospects for the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

There certainly exist obstacles and difficulties on the road toward national reconciliation, but the successes scored during the past few months clearly attest that this is a realistic and long-sighted policy. This is borne out by the fruitful outcome of the meeting in France. This meeting, according to Comrade Hun Sen, proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship.

In the Soviet Union's opinion, the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is a splendid victory of the three Indochinese countries' policy. This meeting, as stated by Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, during his meeting with Comrade Hun Sen, is in accord with the wishes of anyone who really wants to quickly restore genuine and lasting peace in the ancient Land of Angkor.

On its part, now and in the future, the Soviet Union, together with other countries, is always ready to help in whichever way it can in promoting the successful settlement of the Cambodian problem.

SRV's Nguyen Van Linh Praises Cambodian Talks

LD072119 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Paris December 7 TASS—Vietnam welcomes the results of the first meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, said Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

He made this remark in an interview published by the Paris-based newspaper LE MONDE today.

Nguyen Van Linh said that the meeting was an important step opening up the way toward the solution of the Kampuchean issue.

The Vietnamese leader expressed the confidence that, despite inevitable difficulties, the process of national reconciliation in Kampuchea would be a success.

Cambodia's Hun Sen on Summit, Sihanouk Talks
LD100750 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—"The Soviet-U.S. summit meeting is a major event and in the full sense of the word a historic one which opens the way for a solution to the most vital problems which worry mankind. There is no doubt that the signing of the treaty in Washington on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons—medium- and shorter-range missiles—may become a kind of starting point for launching a process of relaxation of tension again and averting from mankind step-by-step the nuclear threat which overhangs it."

"This is a triumph of reason, a triumph of the USSR's active and consistent foreign policy, of which the strengthening of peace is the pivot," Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea (PRPK), chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), has said in an interview with TASS Political News Analyst Yuriy Kornilov.

Hun Sen made a stopover in Moscow on his way from Paris where he had met and had talks with Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

"There is growing conviction in the international arena that a decisive role in removing regional conflict situations should be played by a national reconciliation policy the implementation of which opens the way for an end to senseless fratricidal bloodshed and a solution to urgent national problems."

"It is precisely these goals that are being served by the current course of the PRK's leadership that has worked out an extensive and specific programme for achieving national concord in the country."

What is the essence of the programme?

"It envisages our readiness for a constructive dialogue with all opposing groups and persons, with the exception of Pol Pot and his closest associates," Hun Sen pointed out.

"A withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer troops from the country simultaneously with cessation of any interference in Kampuchea's affairs from the outside. A general election in the presence of foreign observers and, finally, the last but not least, the convocation of an international conference which would guarantee the implementation of accords reached. It was within the framework of the realisation of this programme that I met with Prince Norodom Sihanouk."

"The meeting in question," Hun Sen went on to say, "attracted and continues to attract a considerable attention of the international public and the press. This attention is natural: The meeting is really an important and major event signifying the beginning of a direct dialogue between various Kampuchean parties and the first real step on the way to national reconciliation."

"A joint communique which Prince Norodom Sihanouk and I signed in Paris emphasizes that the principal aim is to put an end to bloodshed and to restore a peaceful, democratic, sovereign neutral, and nonaligned Kampuchea. It is pointed out that the Kampuchean issue should be tackled by political means and, of course, by the Kampuchean people themselves through talks and through consultations among all the parties involved in the conflict."

"Of course, the results of the Paris meeting which—and I would like specially to emphasize this—was held in an atmosphere of friendship and brotherhood between compatriots—cannot by themselves remove at once, at one go, all the obstructions and obstacles which had been piled up for years in the path leading to a settlement of the problem. But the beginning has been set, and a good beginning, too!"

It is no secret that the "Kampuchean knot" was at one time tightened with the active participation of U.S. imperialist circles—what is the stand of the U.S. Administration today?

"In words, Washington is for a resolution of the conflict situation. However, in actual fact something quite different takes place: The United States continues to add fuel into the flames of the conflict, helping those groups which oppose the national reconciliation policy", Hun Sen pointed out.

"And how should one view the fact that the United States continues provocative naval exercises near Kampuchean borders now as well when the reconciliation policy is gathering strength? Or the fact that Washington has signed an agreement with Thailand on the setting up of big arms depots on the territory of the country which neighbours on Kampuchea? Unfortunately, the Chinese leadership is, apparently, not prepared so far for a revision of its old negative line either. If Beijing displayed a new constructive approach to the problem, the approach which accords with the spirit of the times, that could have promoted in many respects the coming of the long-awaited peace to the long-suffering land of my country".

"Yes, the forces which hinder a solution to the Kampuchean problem exist. They act, and this cannot be disregarded. However, it is important and noteworthy that in this situation which is complex enough, the ideas—put forward by the PRK's leadership to eliminate the conflict which has been darkening the atmosphere in South East Asia for many years now—grow stronger and win over an ever larger number of new supporters and

not only in Kampuchea. Our neighbours and friends—Vietnam and Laos—come out actively and vigorously in favour of a just political settlement of the Kampuchean problem".

"A good example has been shown by Indonesia which has played a positive mediatory role in the establishment of contacts between various Kampuchean political forces. The line by the PRK's leadership towards achieving national concord meets with increasing understanding and support among the public of the ASEAN member countries".

"The USSR's principled and ocnsistent stand imbued with the spirit of constructiveness is of exceptional importance to a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. During my stay in Moscow these days I had an opportunity to meet with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other soviet leaders. During a cordial and comradely conversation they emphasized in all definiteness that the Soviet Union would continue energetically to support the efforts of the PRK, the SRV, and the LPDR to achieve a settlement of the Kampuchean problem in the interests of the Kampuchean people, peace and security in Asia", Hun Sen stated.

'Emigre Grouping' Charged With Subversion

PM041155 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Counterrevolutionaries on Trial"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City, 1 Dec—The trial of 18 members of a counterrevolutionary emigre grouping, charged with subversive activity against the existing system in the SRV and attempted illegal armed infiltration of Vietnamese territory, opened here today.

The charge document says that this reactionary organization, which adopted the bombastic title of "National United Liberation Front," was patched together in California (United States) in April 1980. It was headed by former Vice Admiral Hoang Co Minh, commander of the Saigon puppet regime's navy. The "Front" set itself the task of overthrowing the people's power in Vietnam and enjoyed support from certain U.S. imperialist circles. A year later the gang leader and his associates moved to Thailand where, with help from that country's secret services, they set up a so-called "resistance base"—a sabotage school.

The last operation on the detention of violators in August 1987 resulted in the capture of 77 bandits. Their ringleader was killed in the exchange of fire.

Sentenced for 'Sabotage'

PM091325 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Dec 87 p 3

[TASS report under general headline: "In Brief"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City—The open trial of the 18 members of a counterrevolutionary emigre grouping accused of subversive activities against the existing system in the SRV and of attempting armed infiltration of Vietnamese territory has ended here. During the 3-day trial it was established that the so-called "National United Liberation Front," patched together in 1980 in California (United States), set itself the task of overthrowing the people's power in Vietnam and enjoyed the protection of U.S. reactionary circles. During a sabotage raid in August 1987, the gang was routed and its leader was killed in an exchange of fire.

The judicial collegium of the SRV Supreme People's Court sentenced Dinh Van Be, one of the leaders of the "Front," to life imprisonment and the rest to jail terms ranging from 3 to 19 years. Two of the accused who voluntarily surrendered to the authorities received a suspended sentence.

Zakharov at SRV Opening of Culture Festival

PM081053 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch: "Arts Festival"]

[Text] Hanoi, 4 Dec—The Days of Soviet Culture in Vietnam, which are devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, were opened here on 4 December by a magnificent gala concert at the Great Hanoi Palace. The audience enthusiastically welcomed the performances of outstanding Soviet artists. "It was a grand parade of world-class stars of stage and the arts," SRV Culture Minister Tran Van Phac said later.

Before the beginning of the show, which was attended by Pham Hung, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Political Bureau; other Vietnamese state leaders; D. I. Kachin, USSR ambassador to the SRV; and representatives of the diplomatic corps, the audience was addressed by V.G. Zakharov, head of the Soviet delegation and USSR minister of culture.

He noted that cooperation in the cultural sphere occupies an important place in the range of diverse ties existing between the USSR and the SRV. People in the Soviet Union are well aware of the names of Vietnamese writers, composers, outstanding exponents of the fine and applied arts, and moviemakers. There has been a considerable increase in artistic and exhibition exchanges between our countries in recent years. Figures in Soviet art and culture have prepared for the present festival particularly carefully with the aim of offering up for the Vietnamese audience's judgment a broad range of

works from different genres, and a series of exhibitions specially timed to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, V.G. Zakharov stressed.

In addition to Hanoi, Days of Soviet Culture will be held in Haiphong, Ho Chi Minh City, Da Nang, and other SRV cities.

Lao Ambassador's National Day Message to USSR

LD022327 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Lao people are today celebrating their national holiday—the day of the proclamation of the Republic. Taking part in our program is Thongsavat Khaikhamphithoun, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] to the Soviet Union.

[Begin Khaikhamphithoun recording in Lao, fading into Russian translation] Twelve years is a small stretch of time in the history of our country. In putting into practice the decisions of the party's congresses, the Lao people have in that time achieved great successes in many spheres, both in the cause of defending the motherland and in building socialism. Contributions to these successes have been made by fraternal and friendly countries of the world, in particular the Soviet Union, whose aid and support are dear to the Lao people. The celebration of the 12th anniversary of the LPDR is of especially great significance, since it is taking place while a policy of renewal is being conducted in Laos and while there is an energetic process of restructuring going on in the Soviet Union, a process that has already yielded its initial successes.

This important Laotian date is being marked right after the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October, in which a Lao party and government delegation headed by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan took part. The Lao leader's meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, as well as the talks between the delegations of the two countries which took place on 29 October 1987, have facilitated the development of Lao-Soviet relations at a qualitatively new level, in accordance with the spirit of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the 27th CPSU Congress.

The vitally important task of this nuclear missile age is the problem of peace and the survival of humanity. The party, the government, and the Lao people express their gratitude to Lenin's motherland because it always bears the banner in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and international security. With all our heart we welcome the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit and firmly support the accord on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Putting into practice its consistent foreign policy on the basis of the new political thinking, the LPDR will continue its efforts to expand friendly relations and cooperation with all countries, regardless of their social system. Together with Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos will do all it can in order to facilitate the transformation of Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace and stability, friendship and cooperation, in order to make a contribution to the cause of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world, in accordance with the spirit of Vladivostok and the Delhi Declaration.

May I make use of this occasion to wish the fraternal Soviet people new and great successes in the cause of conducting the restructuring policy and of the comprehensive development of Soviet society.

Thank you for your attention! [end recording]

Ivanovskiy Visits Thai Military Commander

BK050135 Bangkok The Nation in English 5 Dec 87 p 6

[Text] The Soviet Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces, Gen Yevgeniy Ivanovskiy, said his exchange visit with Army Chief Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut has established "personal contacts" between the two countries' armed forces, which will help develop bilateral military ties.

He said in an interview with *The Nation* on Thursday that he and Chawalit are "pioneers" in establishing military contacts between the two countries.

The Thai Army commander-in-chief visited Moscow on Nov 18-22, during which time he met Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov and Ivanovskiy, who is also a deputy defence minister.

Chawalit and Ivanovskiy are the first Thai and Soviet army chiefs to visit each other's country.

Ivanovskiy, who arrived in Bangkok Monday, said new contacts have been established by his and Chawalit's visits.

He said there is a standing invitation for a delegation from the National Defence College to visit the Soviet Union.

The Thai-Soviet military relationship "has just been started" and discussions have not yet delved into military training exchange or arms purchasing, he said.

"May be it is too early to talk about other phases of developing our military relations," Ivanovskiy said through a military interpreter who accompanied him from Moscow.

Life and time themselves will make the hint about it," he said.

He said a further step of improving relations can be expected from the planned visit to the Soviet Union by Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon next May.

A Soviet diplomat said Moscow has proposed some agreements to be signed during Prem's visit. Three such agreements have been mentioned: science and technology, fishery, and maritime cooperation.

He said it is an opening for the Thai Government to decide what will be signed.

Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy Valkov has publicly urged a start of Thai-Soviet science and technology cooperation with an exchange of visits by experts from the two countries.

Ivanovskiy said Chawalit expressed the desire to develop Thai-Soviet military relations during his Moscow visit.

The Soviet commander declined to discuss the Kampuchean conflict, saying "it is a hard issue."

"I would rather not touch upon the issue on a celebrating day," he said at the Shangri-la Hotel before leaving for the Royal Plaza to participate in the trooping of colours, organized by the armed forces to celebrate HM [His Majesty] the King's 60th birthday.

But he said the conflict should be first solved by Kampucheans themselves and that the Soviet Union has contributed to seeking a solution.

The Soviet Union is not interfering in the internal affairs of any country and "this itself is a good and reliable contribution," he said.

"The facts (about Kampuchea) have been distorted" by Western press reports, he said.

He refused to talk about Soviet military support for Vietnam, which has occupied Kampuchea since late 1978, saying he is not a finance expert who knows how much has been given to Vietnam.

Commenting on overall Thai-Soviet relations, he said he believed the bilateral ties will be further improved.

He said he believed differing political systems of the two countries will not block improved relations.

Returns to Moscow 6 Dec

PM081211 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Army General Ye. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, returned to Moscow on 6 December after visiting Bangkok at the invitation of General Chavalit Yongchaiyut, acting commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Kingdom of Thailand and commander of Ground Forces.

Army General Ye. Ivanovskiy was met at the airport by Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General D. Grinkevich; and other generals and officers.

The welcoming party included Prachit Rotchanaphruk, Thai ambassador to the USSR.

Visiting Australian Foreign Minister on INF

LD102107 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Tbilisi December 10 TASS—William Hayden, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade, has described the signing of the Treaty to Eliminate Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles as an all important event in his life if not to consider the joy over the end of the Second World War. What gives particular inspiration is the prospect of the subsequent step—reaching an understanding between the USSR and the United States on a cutback in strategic armaments, he told TASS.

Touring Soviet Transcaucasian republics, William Hayden familiarized himself for four days with life in Georgia. Evaluating positively the results of his visit to the Soviet Union, he noted that it was useful from various points of view.

He said the people whom he met in the USSR readily told him about the restructuring and the benefits it promised to everyone and the entire country. He said he got assured that Soviet people were prepared for the changes in progress in the country. It is gratifying that conditions are being created to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, he said.

William Hayden recalled that mutually profitable agreements between Australia and the USSR in the field of sport, public health, space and trade were signed during the stay in the Soviet Union of Australia's Prime Minister Robert Lee Hawke. He said that new agreements on person-to-person contacts, on humanitarian issues and also a consular convention were in preparation betwen the two countries. They will give a fresh impetus to further boosting businesslike and friendly contacts between the Soviet and Australian peoples.

The Australian minister leaves Tbilisi for Moscow this evening.

Antinuclear Trend in ASEAN Region Hailed

BK110355 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Station observer's commentary: "Nuclear-Free Zone in Southeast Asia Contributes to Disarmament"]

[Text] Regardless of topics to be discussed by participants of the forthcoming Manila meeting, such a representative association as ASEAN will, in the opinion of many observers, definitely draw attention to the issues of security and disarmament. Moreover, ASEAN has taken a very important political initiative such as the proposal for creating a nuclear weapons-free zone in Southeast Asia. The issue, which was recently disclosed by Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja, draws the attention of all the leaders of the six ASEAN member countries and is to be included in the closing communique. It seems that never before has the proposal been more concrete and the international situation for practical steps to materialize it as favorable as at present.

The Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium- and short-range guided missiles is a strong factor in stimulating development of an antinuclear tendency in world politics in general and certain regions in particular. A possible realistic and mutually acceptable approach to security issues was shown in preparing for the Washington meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

This tendency is also of deep significance for Southeast Asia, which forms part of the vast Asia-Pacific region. According to the MERDEKA newspaper, the peoples of the countries in this region are concerned because their homelands are being turned into the Pentagon's arsenals. There are now hopes among these countries that security can be ensured not by increasing but instead by decreasing the level of military conflict. The agreement on medium- and short-range guided missiles shows that the human beings [words indistinct] have been mature enough for a denuclearization process. Against this background, the buildup of strategic nuclear forces sponsored by the militaristic circles in the West appears to be something totally outdated. However, the awareness of this truth [words indistinct] for further steps toward reducing the nuclear danger. The present-day world can no longer be regarded merely as an arena for action by nuclear countries, and countries which have no nuclear weapons can no longer passively watch events on which their fate also depends.

Commenting on the Soviet-U.S. agreement, Australia's CANBERRA TIMES writes that other countries can also contribute to the disarmament process by presenting their own proposals. It should also be added here that the proposals calling for denuclearization will become a concrete factor at present only if they are reflected in the political action of the governments and organizations concerned. In our opinion, viewed from this point, there appears the real significance of possible further steps by the ASEAN countries to turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone.

What will be the results of the success of this proposal? Areas for the spreading of nuclear weapons-borne equipment will be limited, and subsequently a possible outbreak of a nuclear conflict will be really reduced. Creation of such a zone will become a strong political and moral stimulus for those who must still be convinced that nuclear weapons have no future. In addition, the ban on nuclear weapons in Southeast Asia will counter efforts by certain circles to ignite the militaristic fervor in this region and drag ASEAN into a military orbit. Finally, it must be definitely seen that the existence of nuclear weapons in the region and activities by those who are trying to maintain these weapons will act as an obstacle to normal development of the political and economic process in Southeast Asia. Removing this obstacle will help enhance mutual trust and further develop a favorable climate for multifaceted cooperation, including in the economic field, among all the parties concerned. All ASEAN member countries are now expressing this desire.

Certainly, creating a nuclear-free zone is not an easy matter. As apparent in the Rarotonga Treaty, the attitude of nuclear countries toward antinuclear regional initiatives plays a very important role. The United States, Great Britain, and France have not yet joined the treaty. However, this has in no way reduced its significance because the need for its own stand on this issue is a stimulus to accelerate a more realistic and constructive approach to security problems.

The Soviet Union welcomes antinuclear initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region because their presentation and materialization are a component indispensable for a move toward a nuclear-free world. Efforts to achieve the goals are given priority in the Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union also believes that certain present-day problems will only be resolved through a common sense of all members of the international community through dialogue. In the meantime, the dialogue must be a dialogue between equal parties, and the equality of nations is impossible without the elimination of nuclear weapons. Because of this, the present antinuclear initiatives by the ASEAN countries are very important and timely.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Foreign Ministry Summons Pakistani Envoy

LD101759 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Kabul December 10 TASS—The news agency BAKHTAR reported that charges d'affaires of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in Afghanistan was summoned to the Afghan Foreign Ministry and handed over a note of protest. The note, specifically, says that posts of

the Afghan security forces in borderline areas Lowyan Dakkah and Achin were shelled and subjected to rocket-fire from the Pakistani territory on December 7. An Afghan officer was killed and another person was wounded. Making a protest to Pakistan over new acts of aggression, the Afghan Foreign Ministry stressed that Pakistan's hostile actions continue, even though the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan more than once made demands that they be stopped. It was declared today that the Pakistani Government will bear the entire responsibility for possible unfavourable consequences of the Pakistani forces' aggressive acts.

Pakistani Leaders Cable Gorbachev, Reagan
LD101757 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Islamabad December 10 TASS—President Mohammad Ziaul Haq and Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo of Pakistan have sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in connection with the Soviet-American summit.

They said that the signing of a treaty for eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles was a forerunner of even more significant steps to reduce all kinds of weapons of mass destruction and subsequently eliminate them altogether.

The message expressed the wish for the summit to be marked by progress in settling the situation regarding Afghanistan.

Gorbachev Cables Thanks to 'Arafat 9 Dec
JN101907 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], PLO Executive Committee Chairman and commander in chief of the Palestinian revolution forces, yesterday received a cable of thanks and appreciation from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for 'Arafat's congratulatory cable and for his participation in person at the head of a PLO delegation at the glorious October Socialist Revolution anniversary celebrations.

In his cable, the Soviet leader reiterated his support for the just struggle waged by the Palestinians under the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and under the chairmanship of brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], to regain their inalienable national rights and establish a just peace in the Middle East.

Syrian Ba'th Party Workers Visit USSR 1-8 Dec
PM101245 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of party workers from Syria's Ba'th Party headed by Idlib M. Nafakh, first secretary of a provincial party command, was in the Soviet Union 1 through 8 December in accordance with the plan for CPSU-Ba'th ties.

The Syrian guests familiarized themselves with the experience of the CPSU's party propaganda work under the conditions of restructuring. The delegation had talks at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, Kharkov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, and the IZVESTIYA Editorial Office. They also visited industrial and agricultural enterprises.

USSR, Egyptian Chambers of Commerce Sign Accord
LD101752 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Cairo December 10 TASS—A cooperation agreement has been signed here by the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Federation of Egyptian Chambers of Commerce. It provides for the expansion of business contacts between the two countries, specifically, the creation of an Egyptian section at the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a Soviet section at the Egyptian Federation.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Izzat Gaydan, chairman of the Federation of Egyptian Chambers of Commerce, expressed confidence that the new agreement would promote the development of trade relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt and would permit to raise their cooperation on a new higher level. On behalf of the Soviet side the document was signed by Yevgeniy Pitovranov, president of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. He pointed out that the agreement would help Soviet and Egyptian firms to learn better each other's requirements and would promote the consolidation of mutually advantageous cooperation.

East Europe

Bulgaria's Leaders Welcome Signing of Treaty

Zhivkov Hails Accord
PM101827 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general headline "Approval and Support": "Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia, 9 Dec—The Bulgarian People's Republic and the entire Bulgarian people ardently welcome the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles, says a BTA-disseminated telegram today from T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and R. Reagan, President of the United States. This treaty between two great powers, the telegram stresses, is a historic victory for political realism and will in reaching a reasonable compromise in resolving mankind's most important problem—its survival.

The treaty concluded, the cable says further, is in itself the greatest achievement to date in the disarmament sphere, and one which will undoubtedly assist the development of dialogue and mutual understanding between East and West, increase mutual confidence, and strengthen security in Europe and throughout the world. At the same time we view the treaty as the first step toward ridding mankind of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, as an impetus to the achievement of more significant accords in the strategic arms sphere in conditions of weighty guarantees of strategic stability.

We sincerely hope that the historic act we have witnessed marks the switch to a future demilitarized world, a world without fear and violence, a world of comprehensive cooperation and harmonious development of all countries and peoples.

Todorov: A Rare Phenomenon

LD111105 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Video shows S. Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Assembly, identified by screen caption]

[Begin Recording; Todorov Speaks in Bulgarian with simultaneous Russian translation] The signing of the treaty on the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles inspires hope that the ominous specter of a nuclear catastrophe is disappearing. It is a rare phenomenon in history that an agreement—one that is essentially a bilateral one between the Soviet Union and the United States—is of a planetary nature, affecting all peoples without exception, . Many hopes are engendered by the fact that on the eve of the new year, 1988, the world is setting out along the good road of its own preservation. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the Soviet Union, and all the forces of peace and progress, will struggle to ensure that our future is not doomed by the threat of nuclearwar. [end recording]

GDR Gives Full Approval to INF Treaty Signing

Honecker on GDR's Full Support

PM101705 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Full Approval"]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Dec—The Soviet-U.S. treaty signed in Washington on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles meets with full approval and support in the GDR, declared E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. In assessing this document I agree with everyone who perceives it as a historic milestone on the path to a world free from nuclear weapons. The elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is, at the same time, the first practical conclusion from the realization that in the nuclear age more weapons does not mean greater security.

The influence of this treaty, the GDR leader emphasized, will be particularly palpable in Europe. As is known, the GDR is one of nine states from whose territory nuclear weapons are being removed in accordance with the document.

The treaty and its strict fulfillment can change the strategic situation for the better, above all in Europe. Preconditions are improving for extending disarmament to new spheres—to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons, sharply reduce conventional arms and armed forces, create in central Europe a corridor free from nuclear weapons and a zone free from chemical weapons, and agree on measures to prevent a surprise attack.

The GDR, E. Honecker said in conclusion, is ready to continue a constructive exchange of opinions on all these questions and a search for solutions which infringe no one's security and advance equitable peaceful cooperation to the fore in European politics.

Spokesman Welcomes Agreement

LD110917 Moscow TASS in English 0217 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin December 10 TASS—The German Democratic Republic welcomes the signing of a Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty evaluating it as a historic stage on the road towards a nuclear-free world, Wolfgang Meyer, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic, told a briefing here today.

Thus, a practical conclusion was drawn from the proposition that a greater amount of weapons does not mean greater security. We are grateful to all who helped reach the agreement during the long and hard talks, who displayed at them realistic thinking and readiness to compromises.

The constructive policy of the Soviet Union, which demonstrated during the talks a model of new political thinking on considering ways of finding solution to the key problems of our time, deserves the highest appraisal.

Jaruzelski Congratulations on Treaty Signing

PM101709 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch under general headline "Approval and Support": "Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Dec—On behalf of the leadership of the PPR and the entire Polish people I convey to you expressions of respect and sincere gratitude in connection with the signing of the historic Soviet-U.S. Treaty

on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This is stressed in a message from W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, addressed to M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and R. Reagan, President of the United States.

Something that until quite recently seemed impossible, the document points out, is now becoming a reality. The Polish people highly value the feeling of responsibility and great personal contribution to what has been achieved on the part of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The first important step has been taken on the path leading to a world free from nuclear weapons. The conclusion of the treaty confirms convincingly that lowering the level of arms while preserving balance between the security of the sides is entirely realistic. We also welcome with hope the prospect for new accords, especially concerning a radical reduction of the two powers' strategic nuclear arms.

It is our ardent wish that the Washington agreement, reflecting the new thinking and a constructive approach to the key problems of the modern world, will lead on the broadest scale possible to the growth of confidence and detente, the development of equal cooperation between states and peoples, and the creative harmonization of common interests and the interests of each country.

This has particular significance for Europe. Poland, which has experienced so much suffering and knows the price of peace so well, is unstinting in its efforts to ensure that our continent, the seat of two world wars, makes a weighty contribution to the search for new solutions. They must effectively serve to overcome divisions and mutual distrust, and to strengthen the security of all states by means of a radical reduction of arms and the development of comprehensive cooperation in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference.

In these memorable days the cordial thoughts and support of the Polish people are turned toward the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. We ardently wish for their historic dialogue to be crowned with complete success, the message says.

USSR's Deputy Premier Antonov Receives Gwiazda

LD110942 Warsaw PAP in English 2302 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 10—Head of a Polish delegation to Moscow, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda was today received by Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Aleksey Antonov.

Gwiazda has come to Moscow for talks on Polish-Soviet commodity exchange next year.

USSR-CSSR Sign Commodity Turnover Protocol

PM101255 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, Dec 87 (Signed to Press 3 Dec 87) p 20

[TASS report: "Commodity Turnover Protocol Signed"]

[Text] A USSR-CSSR intergovernmental protocol on commodity turnover in 1988 has been signed in Prague. The volume of reciprocal trade will exceed R13 billion. The protocol ensures conditions for further improvement of trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

In 1988 the USSR will deliver to the CSSR metal-cutting machine tools, road building equipment, tractors and agricultural machinery, computer equipment, aviation equipment, cars, and industrial consumer goods. There will be larger deliveries of basic types of energy sources and raw materials.

As before, the bulk of deliveries from the CSSR to the USSR will take the form of metal-processing machine tools, machines and equipment for the agro-industrial complex, computer equipment, communications equipment, tractors and agricultural machinery, ships, and trucks. Large deliveries of consumer goods are planned—footwear, sewn and knitted articles, textiles, fancy goods, crockery, and furniture.

The two countries will continue their cooperation in the construction of the Krivoy Rog mining and enriching combine, the construction of the Yamburg-Western USSR Border gas pipeline, and the construction and reconstruction of a number of national economic projects on CSSR territory.

West Europe

UK House of Commons Debates INF Treaty

PM110843 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Tory Position"]

[Text] London, 9 Dec—British Prime Minister M. Thatcher has made a statement in the House of Commons. She welcomed the signing in Washington by Soviet and U.S. leaders of the treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles. At the same time, the head of the British Cabinet again stressed the "vital importance" for Britain's security of retaining "independent nuclear deterrent forces."

N. Kinnock, leader of the opposition Labor Party, called on the prime minister not to replace the U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles to be eliminated within the framework of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range

missiles with other sea- and air-launched medium-range arms. To this the head of government evasively replied: "All arms need to be modernized to ensure effective defense."

A speech was made in the House of Commons by G. Younger, the country's defense secretary. He stated that the process of withdrawing U.S. cruise missiles from British territory would begin immediately following ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles by the U.S. Senate. The head of the military department pointed out that this withdrawal would start with the Molesworth Base, where the first 16 cruise missiles have already been delivered. There would then be a phased 3-year period during which the missiles would be completely withdrawn from the USAF base at Greenham Common, which is already "equipped" with them. "The British side intends to firmly adhere to the spirit and letter of the Soviet-U.S. treaty," the secretary pointed out.

At the same time, the head of the British military department stressed that this work would only start after the treaty had been ratified and come into force. In the meantime, the maneuvers to rehearse combat deployment modes for the cruise missiles will continue "on the basis of the schedule laid down."

Belgium Halts Preparations for Cruise Siting

PM101659 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Work Halted at Missile Base"]

[Text] Brussels, 9 Dec—A few hours after the signing in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, the Belgian minister of national defense ordered that all work at the Florennes nuclear missile base linked with preparations for the siting of an additional 32 U.S. cruise missiles be halted. This was reported by the Belgian Ministry of National Defense.

In the words of an official spokesman for the military department, the final timetable for completing the work to dismantle the 16 cruise missiles deployed there in 1985 has not yet been established. According to estimates by Belgian military experts, their dismantling and removal will take approximately 18 months, i.e. by approximately June 1989, there will no longer be any medium-range nuclear missiles in Belgium.

'Bewilderment' Over Number

LD110911 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Brussels December 11 TASS—Belgium learned with astonishment and apprehension today that 36 and not 16 U.S. cruise missiles, as the Belgian Government and NATO leaders had asserted all the time, are deployed at the moment on its territory, Radio Brussels reported today in the morning.

"Despite the resistance of the U.S. Administration, the text of the Soviet-American INF Treaty was published in Washington, from which Belgians learned to their great bewilderment that 20 cruise missiles had been deployed already at the U.S. base in Florennes, and there were 16 more missiles of this class at a plant exercising their technical maintenance near Charleroi", Radio Brussels said.

The Belgian authorities did not explain to their population in a coherent way why there are more nuclear-missile weapons in Belgium today than it is stipulated by an agreement with NATO and the U.S.

Delegation to French CP Congress Return Home

PM111017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Return From Congress"]

[Text] Members of a CPSU delegation who took part in the work of the 26th French Communist Party Congress—D.I. Patiashvili, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and V.A. Zatvornitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee and leader of a comprehensive team from the No 6 construction administration of the "MOSSTROY-1" Trust—returned to Moscow on 9 December.

FRG Regrets Rust Pardon Rejection

LD101725 Hamburg DPA in German 1545 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—The federal government has instructed its embassy in Moscow to express its regret to the Soviet Union at the rejection of the request for a pardon for 19-year-old amateur pilot Mathias Rust. This was confirmed by an embassy spokesman today in response to an inquiry. He said that Bonn had also expressed the hope that this was not "the final word" in the question of a pardon. The embassy spokesman said that the 19-year-old, whose request for a pardon was turned down on Tuesday, is in good health. [passage omitted]

FRG Responses to INF Deal Profiled

LD100915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "Expectations on the Rhine"]

[Text] Bonn, December—Virtually all the FRG's adult population has awaited the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Washington with growing attention and, I would say, with growing impatience.

FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, who represents the Free Democratic Party [FDP] in the ruling coalition, called the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles an "event of historic significance." He advocated a "radical change and a "re-formation of relations between West and East in all spheres" and improvement of those relations. H.-D. Genscher urged the West to take resolute steps in the direction of establishing a European peace regime. He said that the FRG has a particular responsibility in this context. The minister believes that it is the duty of all leaders in both West and East to use the treaty on medium-range missiles as a point of departure for a broad disarmament process.

H.-J. Vogel, president of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] and leader of the SPD group in the Bundestag, is also convinced that cooperation between West and East must be much wider than in the disarmament sphere alone. Economic, cultural, and ecological ties will promote the peaceful coexistence of the two systems.

R. [as published] Ruehe, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU/CSU] group in the Bundestag, urged the U.S. Senate to ratify the treaty on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The dominant majority in the FRG political world, its government's upper echelons, the Bundestag, and the population clearly supported the "double-zero" option. Now on the agenda is the need to continue the process of scrapping the nuclear arsenal without stopping—right down to "battlefield" weapons ("the third zero")—in Europe. This reflects the particular keenness of the United States' West German NATO partner's interest in ensuring that its territory does not become an arena for nuclear battle. I think such a development has been engendered above all by a turnaround in thinking and recognition of the need for a new approach. These things have forced people, including those responsible for the country's political course, to review their opinions on problems of war and peace and on ways for mankind to survive in the nuclear age. People have realized that they cannot live any longer on a nuclear powder keg and that this will not end happily.

Finally, there is another factor that we must not ignore: Neither the Bonn Cabinet nor the ruling conservative CDU/CSU bloc group is fully united with regard to the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

What obstacles they are heaping up to prevent nuclear disarmament from making headway. Speaking recently at a "Reservists' Union" rally, FRG Defense Minister M. Woerner stated: "The elimination of medium-range missiles increases the threat to our security which stems from Warsaw Pact superiority in the sphere of conventional armaments."

Such arguments are in fact quite widespread among opponents of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles here. They say that if medium-range missiles are eliminated, the USSR will be left with superiority in the sphere of tactical nuclear weapons and conventional armaments. But it is impossible to proceed to elimination of tactical nuclear weapons until there is equilibrium in conventional armaments. The Soviet Union, they say, is unwilling to begin with conventional armaments. In short, a vicious circle is being artificially created.

But it is easy to break it. It is sufficient to display elementary honesty and admit or, if you like, "remember" that the USSR has frequently expressed readiness to begin talks on tactical weapons immediately and eliminate the imbalance, if it exists, as the West thinks, in conventional armaments and begin to reduce them. But the newspapers keep silent about this, as indeed do the politicians.

Fritz Noll, secretary of the German Communist Party Board, with whom we discussed this topic, clearly expressed the opinions prevailing in the broad masses of the FRG population:

"Our country must not be a launchpad for nuclear weapons any longer. This threatens incalculable misfortunes, primarily for the FRG."

More on Supreme Soviet Delegation in Austria

PM091633 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Visit by USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by N.G. Basov, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, visited Austria 30 November through 6 December at the invitation of the leadership of the National Council (the lower chamber of parliament). The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation was received by Austrian Federal President K. Waldheim and had meetings with Chancellor F. Vranitzky, Foreign Minister A. Mock, and Mayor of Vienna H. Zilk.

The Soviet parliamentarians held a conversation with L. Graz, president of the National Council, H. Sommer, president of the Federal Council, and members of the Austrian-Soviet section of the parliamentary group.

During an exchange of opinions held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere, the sides discussed questions of Soviet-Austrian relations and topical problems of international life. The parliamentarians informed one another about the basic areas of the supreme legislative bodies' activity. A high assessment was made of the diverse and fruitful cooperation between the two countries in various spheres, the very important basis of which was and remains the 1955 State Treaty and the

law on Austria's permanent neutrality. Emphasis was placed on the great importance of the visit to Austria by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in June, during which a mutual desire to work toward improving relations between the two countries was expressed. The main areas of further intensifying Soviet-Austrian collaboration outlined by the heads of the USSR and Austrian Governments have been developed and concretized during subsequent Soviet-Austrian contacts at various levels. In this light, the two countries' parliamentarians see their task as contributing to strengthening of the bonds of good-neighborliness between the USSR and Austria and improving the general political climate of mutual relations.

The Soviet representatives explained to their Austrian interlocutors the essence of the changes taking place in the economic and social sphere in the Soviet Union and the revolutionizing role of restructuring in the broad democratization of Soviet society and in spreading glasnost. It was noted that the extensive international discussion that took place in Moscow during the 70th anniversary celebrations of the Great October Revolution clearly brought out the international facets of restructuring and its visible beneficial impact on the state of world affairs and on relations between the USSR and other countries. Recent events indicate that the new political thinking is providing an appreciable positive boost to Soviet-Austrian relations.

The Austrian parliamentarians for their part stressed that the processes taking place in the Soviet Union are generating the liveliest interest among broad sections of the Austrian public and are having a beneficial effect upon the mood of the Austrian population, weakening certain negative past stereotypes in some citizens' minds.

During a discussion of international problems, main attention was focused on questions concerned with reducing the threat of war and ensuring universal security. The sides were convinced that the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, during which it is planned to sign a treaty eliminating Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles and determine specific ways of halving the number of strategic offensive arms possessed by the two states with strict observance of the ABM Treaty and no withdrawal from it for an agreed period, will mark a very important step in this direction.

The sides welcomed the opening of the first round of full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on limiting and ultimately stopping nuclear tests and spoke of the need for the swiftest conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons and destroying all stocks.

The sides agreed on the need to seek to set up, above all within the UN framework, an all-embracing system of international peace and security determined by objective processes of development of a diverse and at the same time mutually dependent world. Mindful of their high responsibility, Soviet and Austrian parliamentarians advocated collective efforts to ensure general security by political means on an equal basis and in all spheres of international relations. Confidence was expressed that an all-embracing system of international security strengthening trust among states and the peoples will facilitate the settlement of regional conflicts, which seriously undermine international security. The two countries' parliamentarians advocated peaceful resolution of interstate disputes and the settling of regional conflicts by negotiation alone in light of the interests of the peoples of all states involved.

An important place in the discussions was allocated to questions connected with further development of the all-European process. Both sides advocated the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE states and adoption of a weighty, balanced final document on all sections of the Helsinki Final Act, including a mandate to prolong the Conference on Confidence-and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in such a way that questions of disarmament, including reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, may, along with confidence- and security-building measures, be enshrined as part of the all-European process. Progress in this sphere would mark a real, major step toward a safe world, which would strengthen the sense of optimism and confidence in mankind's future, a safe future, among the peoples of Europe and indeed the whole world.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation laid a wreath at the monument in Vienna to Soviet servicemen who died liberating Austria and also laid wreaths at the monuments to the victims of fascism in the grounds of the former Nazi concentration camp of Mauthausen, near Linz.

In addition to Vienna, the Soviet delegation also visited the city of Linz, where it had meetings and conversations with leaders of the government and Landtag of the Land of Upper Austria and with the leadership and collective of the Voeest-Alpine steelmaking association. It also visited individual farming enterprises and establishments and toured several historical and cultural monuments.

The deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Austrian National Council expressed their confidence that the Soviet delegation's visit to Austria and its meetings and conversations with Austrian state officials, politicians, and representatives of elected organs of power, public organizations, and movements would make a useful contribution to the cause of further strenghtening and deepening Soviet-Austrian dialogue and consolidating the climate of trust and mutual understanding between the two countries' peoples.

The USSR delegation expressed its gratitude for the warm reception and hospitality shown it in Austria. It handed over to the National Council an invitation from the USSR Supreme Soviet for a parliamentary delegation to make a return visit to the USSR.

The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Italian Ambassador Meets Shevchenko in Kiev

AU100924 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 3 Dec 87 p 2

[RATAU report: "A Meeting in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On 2 December V. S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, received S. Romano, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the USSR.

During a conversation, the visitor was briefed on the activity of the republic's supreme organ of state power and of the local soviets of people's deputies, and on their participation in accomplishing tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development and to increase the people's prosperity. The growing role of soviets in restructuring now taking place in all spheres of Soviet society's life was emphasized.

During the conversation, both sides noted the importance of the forthcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and R. Reagan, U.S. President. Accords attained in Washington will be of historic importance for peoples of all countries, will mark the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons, and will help strengthen the cause of peace.

The ambassador emphasized that restructuring in the USSR was watched with great interest in Italy, and that the country's business circles expressed the aspiration to further expand mutually beneficient Italian-Soviet trade and economic relations.

Nordic Countries Welcome INF Treaty

LD101010 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Oslo December 10 TASS—The countries of northern Europe hail the signing in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles, said Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. "We are grateful for the historic breakthrough in disarmament which has reassuring and great prospects," she told journalists today after a meeting with heads of government from Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden and Finland. They had gathered in the Norwegian capital to discuss prospects for cooperation within the framework of the Nordic Council.

North European countries feel happiness and relief, Gro Harlem Brundtland stressed.

Danish Envoy Briefs Komplektov on EC Meeting

LD090949 Moscow TASS in English 0157 GMT 9 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov today received Denmark's Ambassador to the USSR Rudolph Anton Thorning-Petersen at the latter's request.

As representative of the country which is the chairman of the Commission of the European Communities, the ambassador summed up the statements made at the conference of heads of state and government of the EC countries, held the other day in Copenhagen, on the main problems in the complex of East-West relations in connection with the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington, and also on the situation in the Middle East and around Afghanistan.

The Soviet side emphasized that Mikhail Gorbachev's talks with Ronald Reagan, the signing of the agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles open new opportunities for enhancing constructive activities of European countries, including EC countries, in questions of European security. The stand of the EC countries in favour of convening an international conference on the Middle East was noted with satisfaction. It was also pointed out that there is a need for a positive contribution of West European countries to an early political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Persecution of Turkish Communists Reported

PM101451 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Communists Persecuted"]

[Text] Ankara, 8 Dec—The state security prosecutor has charged H. Kutlu, general secretary of the Turkish Communist Party Central Committee, and N. Sargin, general secretary of the Workers' Party, of violating six clauses of the criminal code: In particular, the creation of illegal organizations, subversive activity and propaganda, insulting the president, and libel. If found guilty on each of these counts they will be threatened with imprisonment for a period totaling more than 70 years.

By the prosecutor's decision, H. Kutlu and N. Sargin have been transferred to a special block for political prisoners in Ankara's central prison. As before, no lawyers are permitted to see them.

As the Turkish Communists were removed from the prosecutor's office building N. Sargin, addressing journalists and lawyers gathered at the door, managed to shout out: "We have been tortured." At that point, he and H. Kutlu were roughly pushed into a police truck. As soon as lawyer R. Oz [name as published] shouted in

reply: "Long live your struggle for democracy!" the police threw themselves on him and his colleagues. An investigation has begun against R. Oz.

H. Kutlu and N. Sargin's lawyers have protested sharply against the authorities' tyranny. A commentary on the case published in the newspaper MILLIYET says that torture has become the norm in the country and that those who practice it feel complete impunity. The present government claims to respect human rights and political freedom. But between words and reality there is a precipice....

It is reported that throughout the country, primarily in the three largest cities, Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, the police and the security service have started to pursue members of these two banned parties in earnest. Several dozen people, among them trade union officials, journalists, workers, teachers and students, have already been arrested. Interrogations are being carried out.

Meetings organized by the Turkish society for the defense of human rights have taken place in two districts of Istanbul. The people who spoke at it, including prominent writers and figures in the art world, condemned the torture in Turkish prisons and demanded a universal amnesty for the political prisoners and abolition of the death penalty. Those present recited the slogans: "Put an end to torture!" and "Call the torturers to account!" and held up placards with the words: "Do not build prisons; build homes and kindergartens!" "Demolish the dungeons!" Several participants in the meetings have been detained.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Says U.S. Blocking C. American Settlement

PM101445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch: "D. Ortega's Appeal"]

[Text] Managua, 8 Dec—The United States is continuing to block the process of a peaceful settlement in Central America, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega stated, speaking on the television program "Face the People."

The provocative conditions for a cease-fire elaborated by the U.S. State Department and then put forward by the contra leadership are clearly calculated to ruin the talks on this question between the Sandinist government and the contras through a mediator, D. Ortega indicated. Washington is attempting to present Nicaragua's refusal to fulfill the undoubtedly unacceptable conditions as Managua's "unwillingness" to embark on a course of national reconciliation. On this false pretext, the U.S. Administration intends to try to get from Congress the allocation of new resources for the contras, the Nicaraguan leader stated.

The United States is trying to destroy the Sandinist Revolution. For this reason, even if the contras problem is eliminated, Washington will continue to stir up conflict in the region by other means, D. Ortega stressed. He once again spoke in favor of dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States for a peaceful settlement in the region.

Speaking about the contras' proposals for a truce during the Christmas holiday period, rejected by the Sandinist government, the Nicaraguan leader indicated that a purely technical cease-fire, which is not accompanied by a U.S. renunciation of continued aid to the contras and its use of the territories of neighboring countries for attacks on Nicaragua, will be totally fruitless.

Cuban Foreign Minister Assesses INF Treaty

LD101048 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] Havana December 10 TASS—Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, said that the Soviet-American treaty signed in Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan was a result of the consistent peaceful policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet Government—a policy that came in line with the aspirations of all people.

In a statement for TASS, the Cuban foreign minister described the signing of that document as a "historic event" and the first step along the road to abolishing nuclear weapons.

It demonstrates that, although the road of negotiations is tortuous and difficult, it can lead to success. It is an obligation of the nuclear powers to walk that road to the end, and it is a duty and right of all nations as well, the minister emphasized.

The realities of the world are such, Isidoro Malmierca went on to say, that, on the one hand, the arms race is fueled by resources needed for the social and economic advancement, primarily, of "Third World" nations and that, on the other, a nuclear war means annihilation of everything living on earth.

Cuba expects the process started in the U.S. capital to be continued both in Soviet-American negotiations and in international forums, with a view to ridding the world of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. Acting as one with the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community and the Nonaligned Movement are doing everything to achieve that aim, the Cuban foreign minister noted.

Political & Social

Leaders' Activities, Speeches, Tours

Vorotnikov at Agroprom Meeting

LD021802 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1623 GMT 1 Dec 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A session of the RSFSR Agroprom enlarged collegium took place today. The issues of preparing agricultural, industrial, construction, and other enterprises and organizations of the Russian Federation's agro-industrial complex for the transfer to full financial autonomy and self-financing were examined. Comrade Vorotnikov spoke at the session.

Vorotnikov at RSFSR Session

PM031547 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Unidentified special correspondent's report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At a session held 30 November, the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined topical questions of economic and cultural building in the republic.

The session heard and discussed reports on progress in the fulfillment of republican government resolutions on priority tasks of RSFSR soviet and economic organs, the readiness of associations and enterprises under the RSFSR Ministry of Local Industry to switch to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing, the work experience of Kurgan's "Kukuruza" Science and Production System, and the progress of livestock wintering on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Tula Oblast.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Lukyanov at Lithuania CP Talks

PM031613 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 19 Nov 87 p 1

[ELTA report: "Meeting at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who had been taking part in the funeral of P.P. Grishkyavichus, met with members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on 17 November.

During the talk A.I. Lukyanov discussed the progress of restructuring in the country, the measures being taken by the CPSU Central Committee to deepen these processes, the results of the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum, the importance for everyday work of the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the need to extensively propagandize the report's ideas, and the need to apply those ideas in educational and ideological work.

The members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau told Comrade A.I. Lukyanov about the republic party organization's work in implementing decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and assured the CPSU Central Committee that the republic's Communists and all its working people will struggle even more persistently for acceleration, restructuring, and the achievement of new peaks in the economy, science, and culture.

A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left for Moscow the same day.

Razumovskiy Visits Lithuania

LD031000 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by Television Correspondent A. Paulas]

[Text] [Paulus] Comrade Razumovskiy went to new housing areas of Vilnius. He wished the builders constant increases in their pace and quality of work. One in six of the republic's citizens is on a waiting list for improved housing. In the shops, Georgiy Petrovich showed an interest in possibilities for expanding the range and increasing the quality of goods and in the level of service to the customer.

The chief enterprise in the Lithuanian production association Sigma is an important supplier of computer technology in modernizing various industries of the national economy. At the center of conversations with workers, engineering, and technical personnel and the association's managers were the experience and lessons to be drawn from work by the collective in conditions of financial autonomy and self-financing, and increasing each person's working reserve to solving its production and social questions.

Comrade Razumovskiy visited the Museum of the Revolution of the Lithuanian SSR; he looked round the exhibits which tell of the Lithuanian people's struggle for Soviet power.

At the Rokai kolkhoz, which is not far from Kaunas, Comrade Razumovskiy was familiarized with the livestock breeding complex. Much attention is being devoted here to introducing scientific achievements, and this is yielding tangible results. Georgiy Petrovich

showed an interest in questions of further increasing the complex's ability to pay for itself, retaining young people in the countryside, and the work of primary party organizations.

At one of the country's largest artificial fibers works in Kaunas, there was a discussion of the need for a decisive transfer to progressive forms of organizing and stimulating work and fulfillment of contractual obligations.

Demichev at Nuclear Conference

LD041116 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] From 26 November to 3 December, Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. In Tashkent he attended the international conference "For a Nuclear-Free and Non-Violent World" devoted to the 1st anniversary of the Delhi Declaration. Comrade Demichev made a trip to Fergana Oblast in Uzbekistan, acquainting himself with the work of local soviets and the working and living conditions of the population. A meeting took place in Fergana with the oblast's party and local soviet aktiv. It was opened by Comrade Umarov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Obkom.

Addressing the meeting, Comrade Demichev and other speakers analyzed the initial work experience under restructuring conditions and problems that have arisen. The influence of soviets, which have begun engaging in economic matters more deeply, is growing. It was noted that enterprises have considrable reserves for improving the economy's efficiency. However, authorities and deputies do not yet always fully use the rights that have been granted them, and at times are timid in dealing with enterprise managers. More efforts should be directed toward developing the social sphere. The matter of ecological situation in the oblast and protection of the health of the population was urgently debated. In this connection, critical remarks were voiced toward the central ministries and departments.

Comrade Demichev also visited the Institute of Bio-Organic Chemistry of the Republic's Academy of Sciences, the "Shreder" scientific-production association of horticulture and viticulture, the Tashkent machine-building works, and visited a number of trade and domestic services enterprises. He took part in the ceremony to open the "Solntse" complex, designed for the production of solar energy for scientific and production purposes, outside Tashkent.

In Turkmen SSR, a meeting took place in Ashkhabad with the party, local soviet and economic aktiv of the republic. It was opened by Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee. Comrade Demichev congratulated the working people of the republic on the successful fulfillment of the state plan for procuring raw cotton in the jubilee year. In his speech, Comrade Demichev and other speakers laid the main emphasis on the new shoots that have appeared in the work to implement the ideas of restructuring. It was noted that restructuring is not going smoothly and that the stereotypes and habits that became fixed previously are counteracting it in places. Embezzlement and bribe-taking have not been completely eliminated.

In the course of preparation to change over to new management conditions, questions have begun to arise extremely acutely regarding the poor knowledge among some leaders of the fundamentals of applied economics. It was stressed that the success of the matter will largely be promoted by expansion of democracy and glasnost. The resolution was expressed to come to the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU with weighty results, to take an important step on the path toward implementing the ideas of the Leninist party.

In the Turkmenian SSR, a meeting was held with members of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, and a conversation took place at the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade Demichev visited the "Turkmenkover" association, the "Sovet Turkmenistana" kolkhoz near Ashkhabad, and the "Komsomol" horse-breeding farm. He went to the kolkhoz market in Ashkhabad and a number of shops. He made a trip to a border post and to the Karakum "Lenin" canal.

Petrovskiy on Soviet Diplomacy

LD051610 Begrade TANJUG in English 1253 GMT 5 Dec 87

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—Perestroyka and the popularity of Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev have contributed to "making our jobs as diplomats easier," said Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy in today's interview to the Yugoslav daily VJESNIK.

According to Petrovskiy, Soviet diplomacy previously served for propaganda purposes, while diplomats now have the right to show more initiative in negotiations. Before, negotiations were for the sake of negotiations, but Soviet foreign policy does not offer ready-made solutions now and "calls on everyone to jointly seek the right road," Petrovskiy said.

He pointed out that throwbacks of the cold war, however, have still not been overcome, as is best seen when the U.S. readily rejects a proposal only because it is made by the Soviet side.

Petrovskiy also said that major changes have been concerning Soviet Foreign Ministry officials, resulting in 9 new appointees among the 11 deputy ministers. The

Soviet Union appointed as many as 103 new ambassadors in the 1985-1987 period. The Soviet Union has embassies in 116 countries, which means that only 13 ambassadors were not replaced, he added.

Speaking of the United States' opposition to Moscow's organizing an international conference on human rights, Petrovskiy said that the United States has no real arguments to support such a stand. "I am not saying that we behaved impeccably and that there were no human rights violations, but now when we are trying to improve things and establish international standards on human rights and what constitutes their violation, the Americans are against us," said Petrovskiy.

He also said that 250 former dissidents have returned to the Soviet Union and that the number of those wishing to come back is constantly growing. The reason why more people are not returning is due to the Soviet public's lack of sympathy for returnees, Petrovskiy said. He stressed that no privileges are offered to those who wish to return, but that individuals in the West invent such stories for self-advertising purposes.

Mironenko Speaks on Youth

LD071956 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 7 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—The drive for restructuring and speeding up scientific and technical progress in the USSR have become an area for Soviet young people to display their creativity and show initiative, said Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Leninist Komsomol (YCL) Central Committee. He delivered a report today at the plenary meeting of this youth organisation with a membership of 38.4 million.

Mironenko recalled that youth in the USSR today makes up one third of the working people employed in the national economy. One in five specialists and plant managers is a representative of the body of young people. There are 120,000 scientists among the country's youth.

Speakers at the plenum underscored the enhanced creative activity of both rank-and-file YCLers and members of the YCL elective bodies. As an example, Mironenko recalled that Soviet writer Albert Likhanov, a member of the YCL Central Committee, initiated the establishment of the Soviet children's fund named after Lenin and became its first chairman. Oleg Atkov, a pilot cosmonaut of the USSR, is setting up an association of young cosmonauts in the USSR. Young scientist Oleg Vorontsov got down to developing the mechanism of implementing jointly with youth unions of socialist countries the programme "Cooperation."

The plenum gave center stage to young people's involvement in scientific and technical progress. Upwards of 60 city and district youth technical creativity centers are in operation in the USSR. Under treaties with plants, they fulfil orders valued at over 10 million roubles.

The plenum drew attention to the need for young people to have expert knowledge in the field of computer engineering.

Dolgikh Attends Shipping Seminar

PM081101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] A conference of shipping line chiefs, party committee secretaries, and sector VUZ heads was held at the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet to discuss tasks involved in improvement of work with cadres and enhancement of party committees' role in ensuring the restructuring of the maritime fleet.

A report on this question by USSR Minister of the Maritime Fleet Yu.M. Volmer was heard.

The conference was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The tasks of shipping line leaders and party committees in the acceleration of the sector's socioeconomic development, the enhancement of competence and training, and the mastery of economic methods of management were defined.

Taking part in the conference's work were V.S. Pasternak, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Transport and Communication Department, and other senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee.

Solomentsev at Chelyabinsk Oblast

PM081103 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Stay in Chelyabinsk Oblast"]

[Text] M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, on 30 November-4 December familiarized himself with the progress of restructuring in all spheres of the social life, economy, and culture of Chelyabinsk Oblast.

He visited the construction site of an oxygen converter shop and the "2000" rolling mill at the Magnitogorsk V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine—highly important components in the fundamental modernization of this giant of ferrous metallurgy. Questions of the creation and assimilation of new equipment, improvement of economic knowledge, and new style of work for all workers and specialists were raised at meetings with working people from the combine, the "Zavod Imeni S. Ordzhonikidze" association, and the Ural motor vehicle, Kasli machine building, and Miass tool making plants. It was stressed that, along with production intensification,

it is now necessary to devote paramount attention to working people's working and living conditions. Enhancing VUZ science's role in elaboration of major national economic problems and in significant improvement of the acceptance, selection, and training of engineering cadres was discussed during meetings with teachers and students at the Lenin Komsomol Polytechnical Institute in Chelyabinsk.

M.S. Solomentsev visited the "Rossiya" state livestock breeding center, which is a milk production front-ranker in the RSFSR, and a subsidiary farm at the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine. It was noted that developing such farms is a substantial reserve for improving the provision of foodstuffs to the population. The member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo visited new construction projects, a number of food and consumer goods stores in Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk, and Miass, and a market in the oblast center. In their conversations with him, the people of the southern Urals raised the acute problems of food, clothing, and footwear supplies, housing construction, and the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and moonshining. The working people wholly approved the party's policy of restructuring and renewing our society and improving the people's living standard.

M.S. Solomentsev familiarized himself with the cultural life of the oblast and visited palaces of culture and the Chelyabinsk Chamber and Organ Music Hall. At an exhibition of Urals art moldings in Kasli, attention was drawn to the importance of maintaining the traditions of the old masters and their unique art.

In Miass, there was a meeting between voters and M.S. Solomentsev, who is the deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for Miass electoral okrug.

The member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo took part in the work of party and economic aktivs in Magnitogorsk and Kasli and met with members of the CPSU Obkom Bureau. In his speeches, he stressed the importance of mobilizing efforts of the oblast's Communists and working people to fulfill decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and tasks of the new stage of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost, and to step up control of the masses.

The chairman of the Party Control Committee addressed a CPSU Obkom Plenum, which defined measures to eradicate the serious shortcomings in the work of party, soviet, and economic organs in Chelyabinsk Oblast in assimilating the economic factors of intensification of stockraising noted in the recent CPSU Central Committee resolution.

M.S. Solomentsev was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by N.D. Shvyrev, first secretary of Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom, and Ye.F. Kurakin, chairman of Chelyabinsk Oblispolkom.

Architect Stamo's Obituary

PM081129 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Obituary of Ye.N. Stamo]

[Excerpts] USSR People's Architect Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Stamo died on 28 November 1987 at the age of 75. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.G. Melnikov, Yu.P. Batalin, Ye.G. Rozanov, Ye.N. Bystrov, Yu.P. Platonov, B.S. Ugarov, E.G. Klimov, T.N. Khrennikov, V.G. Afanasyev, V.V. Karpov, N.A. Ponomarev, Yu.B. Solovyev, K.Yu. Lavrov, I.K. Arkhipova, G.V. Myasnikov, M.A. Ulyanov, A.G. Rochegov, A.V. Vavakin, Yu.P. Grigoryev, A.R. Akhmedov, YA.B. Belopolskiy, V.V. Lebedev, I.I. Loveyko, M.V. Posokhin, G.V. Makarevich, A.P. Kudryavtsev, O.A. Shvidkovskiy, I.G. Biryukov, F.M. Sogoyan, A.N. Burganov, V.K. Zamkov.

Zaykov Attends Poet's Soiree

LD100045 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremonial soiree took place tonight at the USSR Bolshoi Theater dedicated to the 275th anniversary of the birth of the great Armenian poet, Sayat-Nova. In the Presidium were Comrades Zaykov and Razumovskiy, and a delegation from the Armenian SSR led by Comrade Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, representatives of party and public organizations, cultural figures, and envoys from fraternal republics.

Opening the soiree, Comrade Markov, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, said that the work of notable artists has been inspired by high ideals of freedom, humanism, and friendship. The political legacy of Sayat-Nova is an invaluable asset belonging to all Soviet peoples.

A talk on Sayat-Nova was given by Comrade Avetisyan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR. He noted that the fame of the poet who produced classics of Armenian, Georgian, and Azeri literature has long gone beyond the Transcaucasus, and great service in this has been done by the Russian translators who brought the imperishable models of the works of the people's bard to the broad reading public.

Zaykov on City Development

LD102202 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Text] In Moscow today a conference took place of leaders of the party, local soviet and economic bodies of the capital and Moscow oblast, with the participation of

the State Planning Committee, the State Construction Committee and the State Committee for Architecture of the USSR and public organizations. Discussed at the meeting were tasks in working out a general plan for the development of the capital city region as a unified economic complex for the period up to 2010 were discussed. This document is being worked out in accordance with the concept for the comprehensive social and economic development in Moscow, approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The general plan is intended to take full account of the problems of life in the capital city and the oblast and to match the tasks of their organic unity. Special attention is devoted to fundamental improvements in working, living, and leisure conditions and transport and medical services for the millions of inhabitants of Moscow and the surrounding region. The task has been set of studying thoroughly issues connected with a sharp improvement in the ecological situation and the removal of enterprises harmful for the enrivonment. A particular place was occupied at the conference by problems directly related to restoration and reconstruction of the historical center of the capital and preservation of monuments of national history, architecture and culture, so that Moscow's unique appearance might be maintained forever. Alongside this, attention was paid to the need for comprehensive construction work in the city, including its new rayons, and also in towns near Moscow.

Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, spoke at the conference.

Vlasov at Altay Kraykom Plenum

PM110901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Law and Order"]

[Text] Barnaul, 9 Dec—The success of restructuring largely depends on further strengthening socialist legality and law and order and stepping up protection of citizens' rights and interests. This was discussed at an Altay party kraykom plenum.

The report by Kraykom First Secretary F.V. Popov and the speeches pointed out that the measures being taken in the kray are helping to improve legal work, enhance discipline and responsibility, step up the struggle against unearned income and deception, and overcome drunkenness and alcoholism. But unconcerted actions and complacency are to be observed in this work.

The plenum was addressed by A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs.

Regional Press Editors Complete Instruction

PM071707 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Cadre Instruction"]

[Text] Instruction courses for editors of republic, kray, oblast, and city newspapers have been completed at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences' Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Leading Party, Soviet, and Ideological Cadres.

The students were addressed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; CPSU Central Committee Secretaries A.I. Lukyanov and G.P. Razumovskiy; Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; G.M. Korniyenko, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.N. Sevruk and G.S. Strizhov, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; V.G. Afanasyev, A.A. Baranov, N.B. Bikkenin, B.G. Vladimirov, and I.D. Laptev, chief editors of central newspapers and journals; V.M. Falin, chairman of the APN Board; B.A. Boldyrev, A.V. Vlasov, A.P. Dumachev, V.G. Zakharov, M.F. Nenashev, K.M. Kharchev, Ye.I. Chazov, and S.G. Shcherbakov, USSR ministers, chairmen of USSR state committees, and leaders of central departments; AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; I.P. Abramov, chief of a USSR KGB directorate; D.A. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; A.A. Likhanov, chairman of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund; B.G. Kibirev, second secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom, and others.

There were meetings between the students and the chief editors and members of the editorial collegiums of central newspapers, journals, TASS, NOVOSTI Press Agency, and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, during which various aspects of mass medja and propaganda activity were examined.

Supreme Court Chairman Asks 'More Glasnost'

PM101045 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with V.I. Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by own correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernyak: "The Law and Nothing But the Law. Seventy Years of Soviet Justice"—date and place given]

[Text] A jubilee, as is well-known, is not just a time for pride and for remembering, but a time for taking stock and looking to the future. It was in this vein that PRAVDA correspondents talked to V.I. Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court.

[Question] Vladimir Ivanovich, could you say a few words about the foundations on which Soviet justice grew up?

[Terebilov] These foundations were laid by V.I. Lenin. At the start of December 1917, he signed the Decree on the Courts, which rescinded all the old tsarist judicial institutions. Although it should be said that courts appeared somewhat earlier. For instance, in Petrograd's Vyborgskiy Rayon a judicial session was held under the chairmanship of the Bolshevik worker Chakin soon after the announcement of Soviet power. At the same time, courts started to be set up spontaneously in Moscow, Saratov, and Smolensk....

It needed the immense organizational talent of V.I. Lenin and the multifaceted knowledge and enthusiasm of his comrades-in-arms to create a truly people's court operating on genuinely democratic principles of justice in the interests of the new state of the working people. There are now more than 13,000 courts in our country. More than 850,000 people's assessors were elected at the last elections.

Talking about the Soviet courts, one naturally cannot fail to mention the fact that they also endured the tough thirties and forties. The numerous cases of lawbreaking that took place during those years and which are common knowledge today did not, however, grow out of the socialist system—as our ideological enemies claim. They were the result of deviations from socialism and a consequence of the blatant flouting of the law by certain officials, and became possible under the conditions of the personality cult.

The party has made a principled assessment of this. A great deal of work has been done to rehabilitate unjustifiably repressed individuals. This work is continuing. In 1984-1987 the current composition of the USSR Supreme Court alone reexamined the cases and rehabilitated more than 240 people unjustifiably sentenced in the thirties and forties.

[Question] What needs to be done now to prevent any repetition of the mistakes of the past? Our readers—particularly, V. Desyatov from Brezhnev, K. Labruk from Kiev, and others—believe that the courts have so far been affected little by restructuring....

[Terebilov] The work of the courts needs to be restructured. This is linked both with the lessons of the past that you mentioned and with the state of affairs today, when we still encounter by no means isolated cases of violations of legality in the activity of law enforcement organs and cases of serious judicial errors. Certain courts have not yet eradicated their "accusatory bias" and mechanically repeat the conclusions of the preliminary investigation. But restructuring is taking place. Maybe not as noticeably or as quickly as one would like. This is attested in particular by some reduction in individual crimes recently and the notable reduction in the use of imprisonment in those cases where there is an opportunity of using other means of influencing the guilty party. The courts have started taking a more demanding approach to the assessment of materials in the preliminary investigation. For instance, in the first 6 months of 1987, the courts sent back far more cases for further investigation, handed down far more acquittals, and threw out far more cases on the grounds of rehabilitation than in any 6-month period in previous years. Proposals are being prepared for restructuring the investigatory apparatus, the legal profession, and so forth.

However, further reform of the judiciary is needed to take in the restructuring of the activity not only of the courts but that part of other law enforcement organs whose purpose is to ensure the execution of justice.

[Question] And what, in your opinion, should this reform include?

[Terebilov] For instance, there needs to be extensive glasnost with respect to judicial statistics. Information must be provided to the public on this question every year—and more fully than at present. It is up to the USSR Ministry of Justice, which prepares the figures. A legal newspaper is also needed with a view to ensuring greater glasnost.

There are good grounds for considerably expanding the forms of legal work and stepping up the public's role in it. The volume and nature of the investigatory apparatus' work, which essentially prepares "preliminary" materials for the courts, must be defined. The investigatory apparatus must be made more independent and responsible, and prosecutors' supervision of the legality of investigators' actions must be real prosecutors' supervision and not just "patronage." It is necessary to ensure considerably greater effectiveness in the guarantees of the accused's rights to a defense—first and foremost by restructuring the work of the legal profession and reviewing the criminal, criminal procedure, labor, and other branches of the law in order to ensure that the norms of these laws wholly correspond to the new conditions of the development of our society and democracy.

I think that there are good grounds for reviewing once again the system for electing judges, in short, for improving cadre work. Take the material and technical supply of courts. A seemingly secondary question, but it greatly reduces the quality and standard of work. Corrective labor institutions also need to be fundamentally restructured. Ensuring the genuine independence of judges must be the core of the legal reform.

[Question] An entire program... I would like to amplify certain provisions. You have been talking about independence, but under the law our courts are independent. Nonetheless, we often learn of instances when certain judges pass sentences under the influence or under pressure from certain officials. How is this practice to be eradicated?

[Terebilov] You are right, practice reveals many instances of interference in legal affairs by the leaders of soviet, economic, and party organs. Unfortunately, not all judges have enough civic courage to oppose direct or veiled pressure, requests, artificially created public opinion, and so forth. This means that additional guarantees are needed to rule out outside influence on the nature of judicial decisions. This could be promoted, for instance, by a special law on responsibility for interference in the courts' activity and for contempt of court, including the responsibility for failing to appear before the bench.

[Question] You spoke of the need to improve the institution of defense in the judicial process. A great deal has recently been said on this score. There are different opinions about it. We would like to hear your point of view.

[Terebilov] There are indeed different opinions. In my view, it would be expedient and fair to somewhat alter the present law in order to create additional guarantees for persons under investigation, and to allow defense counsel to take part in the case not at the end of the preliminary investigation or at the time proceedings are instituted, but after the charge is made.

I also think it necessary to limit the grounds for remanding defendants in custody before trial. This very severe measure is applied unjustifiably in many instances. Detention in custody should be restricted to really necessary cases. I think it would be expedient to amplify the existing law and retain the right of prosecutors to extend the term of detention pending trial up to, for instance, 6 months. Defendants' detention pending trial could only be further extended by a union republic supreme court or the USSR Supreme Court.

I think it would be sensible to review the system and procedure for remunerating defense counsels. Highly qualified lawyers must be attracted to the profession, and a great many other things must be done to strengthen the ranks of defense counsel cadres.

[Question] Many letters to PRAVDA ask about the expansion and stepping up of the public's participation in legal activity....

[Terebilov] I also favor this. I think that in order to further democratize Soviet justice and developing socialist self-management in this direction it would be expedient to increase the number of people's assessors for the examination of complex cases in court. This proposal is not the result of the expression of some kind of lack of faith in judges but a measures to increase the guarantees for a deeper and more well-rounded investigation of such cases.

In my view it is also expedient to replace the people's defense counsel and the people's prosecutor in court by a single figure—a representative of the public—who, having listened to the entire trial as the labor collective's "conscience," would give his own impressions of the proof of guilt, the penalty to be imposed, and the measures to be used to caution the lawbreaker.

It is necessary to fundamentally review the legal force of so-called "court orders." At the moment they are essentially purely for purposes of information—the court has no right to indicate in such orders what needs to be done and in what way so as to avert certain violations and prevent a repetition of the crime. Court orders can and should contain specific prescriptions whose nonfulfillment would entail proceedings up to and including judicial proceedings.

It would be expedient to enhance the role and expand the competence of comrades' courts, administrative commissions, and commissions for juveniles. The public must be involved far more extensively and boldly in control and educational work in penal institutions and in helping marshals of the court in work to make good the damage caused by criminals.

[Question] V. Dolgikh from Novosibirsk draws attention to the fact that the courts, going along with various kinds of "orders," sometimes condemn enterprising, go-ahead people acting in the spirit of the times. Why does this happen?

[Terebilov] Indeed, many instructions and recommendations, particularly from economic organs, are outdated and need replacing. It is necessary to immediately repeal or replace them. This is a direct and urgent task for ministries, departments, and production associations. As for the courts, in resolving specific cases they must proceed on the basis of the regulations: If an order, instruction, or recommendation does not correspond to the law, that order or instruction must not be followed.

We recently encountered the following case. The chairman of a kolkhoz in the Kazakh SSR, in an attempt to get his farm back on its feet, decided—contrary to the existing instructions—to pay the best kolkhoz members bonuses in order to motivate their work. He submitted this question to a general meeting of kolkhoz members. The opinion was unanimous: "Pay the bonuses." But nonetheless, criminal proceedings were instituted against the chairman for embezzlement on a particularly large scale.

This year the case was examined by a USSR Supreme Court plenum acting in a supervisory capacity. The plenum quashed the previous ruling and the charges against the chairman were dismissed on the grounds that there was no case to answer. Through this decision, the USSR Supreme Court strove to direct the courts to take a new and more correct approach to the assessment of the legal force of certain instructions and directives. They only have legal force if compiled in accordance with the law.

[Question] What proposals in connection with restructuring arise with regard to the activity of the Supreme Court itself?

[Terebilov] I think that the USSR Supreme Court should not just repeat (even at a new level) everything that the people's oblast, kray, or union republic supreme courts have done; it must have powers that go beyond the framework of the judicial rights of other courts and allow it to resolve fundamental questions of judicial activity.

The so-called theory of "division of authority" is unacceptable to us, but the granting of certain rights to the USSR Supreme Court in the sphere of constitutional supervision seems both timely and useful. For instance, prosecutors are currently entitled to protest against any illegal decisions or resolutions by administrative organs or other officials. If these organs or officials disagree with the prosecutors' protests the question is in practice not resolved through legal channels but with the help of party and other organs.

In my opinion, we ought to ensure that prosecutors' protests against the illegality of legislative instruments be submitted in court. The right to appeal to the court to recognize legal instruments, statutes, resolutions, instructions, and so forth as contravening the foundations of legislation should be accorded to the AUCCTU and certain republican organs.

If the Supreme Court—along with other courts, incidentally—concludes during the course of its examination that certain resolutions or delegated legislation have been issued by ministries or departments in contravention of the law, and citizens have been charged with their violation, the courts must have the right to recognize these instruments as being in contravention of the law and therefore invalid.

The procedure for nominating and selecting candidates for the post of USSR Supreme Court judge ought to be improved. There must be more glasnost about this stage of the elections, and it should be laid down in legislation just who is to participate in the nomination and selection of candidates and on what basis. The law on the USSR Supreme Court also needs other amendments.

Cemetery Selling Vysotskiy Memorabilia Deplored

PM110957 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 6

[Letter from N.M. Vysotskaya, and commentary by PRAVDA Youth Office reporter A. Golubeva under the rubric "Letter With Commentary": "Blasphemous Business"; first three paragraphs are Vysotskaya letter]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

Recently trading in photographs of my son has intensified at the Vagankovskoye cemetery in Moscow where he is buried. I was staggered once when I saw an office desk bearing a huge quantity of photographs for sale near the grave. Workers from the No 11 Militia Department and the cemetery director explained to me that the man selling the pictures has a license and permission to photograph the gravestones and sell photographs at the cemetery.

The license holders against whom the militia is powerless have literally occupied the territory of the cemetery and have turned it into a row of stalls. The photos have been placed right on the graves and memorials. You can see portraits and photos of Vladimir with his wife here, tasteless, undistinguished items—calendars, and sculptural copies of the gravestone....

By what right do these people use my son's name for selfish purposes and for the sake of gain and by what right do they desecrate his memory? It is dreadful and hurtful to see all this. The territory of Moscow's oldest cemetery must be rid of these "merchants."

N.M. Vysotskaya

What Nina Maksimovna writes concerns not only herself but also everyone who values the memory of Vladimir Vysotskiy. Many of our readers are appealing to the editorial office on this matter. Journalists have also written about the "cemetery sellers."

A. Petrushkin, deputy chief of the No 11 Militia Department, showed me a sheaf of photographs confiscated from the speculators. The department's workers are combating them—verifying their licenses and exposing those who are "trading" illegally. Now and again because, of course, you will agree that it is somewhat awkward to post sentries at gravesides.

Yet is it proper to trade by graves?

I rang the Moscow Soviet Commission for Individual Labor Activity: Is this allowed?

"Of course not," Ye. Baturina, member of the commission's working group, replied. "A license only gives you the right to carry out photographic work on orders from the population. The reproduction of photos is forbidden by the Law on Individual Labor Activity, which confirmed once again the Moscow Soviet Resolution of 20 October 1987. So any trade—with or without a license—at a cemetery is in contravention of the law."

Meanwhile, trade is flourishing at the cemetery. What is the reason for this? The incompetence of those militia workers who consider a license to be something of a carte blanche. But this is not the only reason. The "cemetery sellers" have powerful support—the purchasers. The "sellers" would have disappeared long ago of their own accord had it not been for the demand for their goods.

However blasphemous this may be, the Vagankovskoye cemetery is essentially one of the few places where you can obtain a photograph of Vysotskiy, a "samizdat" compilation of his songs, or an article about him. This is very well-known not only to Muscovites—how many people come here from other cities to buy something as a keepsake of Vysotskiy.

Admittedly, as people in the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade told us, there are now plans to increase production of compilations of Vysotskiy's songs and poetry. The Union of Cinematographers "Kinotsentr" All-Union Creative Production Association is producing a run of 200,000 sets of photos. It is preparing to publish in late 1988 and early 1989 a new booklet entitled the "Role and Songs" of Vysotskiy.

As yet, these are just plans, and plans have a habit of changing. How can the demand be met? Maybe it is not worth rejecting the aid of "individuals"? But a stipulation must be made here. The photographs must be of high quality, both from the technical and also from the aesthetic viewpoint.

And, of course, it is time to rid the cemetery of buying and selling and allot a special place for selling photographs. There is probably no need to explain why.... An announcement has just appeared at the cemetery: "The sale of photographs is categorically forbidden." However, they are still selling them!...

Refuseniks Call Off Demos, Not Hunger Strikes

AU101311 Paris AFP in English 1305 GMT 10 Dec 87

[Anne Penketh report]

[Text] Moscow, Dec 10 (AFP)—Militant Jewish "refuzniks" who have attempted to stage daily demonstrations here since Sunday protesting Soviet emigration policy said Thursday they were calling off their street protests because of police harassment which led to the detention of almost 100 people.

But the refuzniks said that hunger strikes by 120 Soviet Jews refused permission to leave the Soviet Union, which also began on Sunday in five Soviet cities, would continue at least until the end of the Washington Reagan-Gorbachev summit later Thursday.

In a statement issued at a news conference in a Moscow apartment, a group of at least 20 refuzniks expressed disappointment that the prevailing "atmosphere" had not been changed by the summit. "We feel the atmosphere of the summit did not work so far," spokesman Yuliy Kashalovskiy said.

They noted however that in the run-up to the Washington meeting several refuzniks had received long-awaited exit visas, and that the visa office had agreed to review a number of cases held back because of financial obligations to relatives.

The refuzniks said that about 30 of them had been briefly detained by security forces every day as they arrived at, or were on their way to, the planned demonstrations in central Moscow on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

Faced with the daily harassment, "we have decided that we have no chance of staging a demonstration" and abandoned that line of protest, refuznik spokesman Yuliy Kashalovskiy told reporters. The refuzniks Thursday were deciding on future course action.

Noting that they had not been prevented from holding Thursday's press conference, Mr. Kashalovskiy said the Soviet authorities appeared more concerned to "keep the truth from the Soviet public" by preventing the street demonstrations, than to prevent their access to the Western media in meetings.

The refuzniks said they were taken aback by the tough police reaction, and the lengths to which the authorities had gone to prevent their demonstrations. On Sunday, 70 refuzniks found themselves confronted by an official "counter-demonstration" held at the same place as their demonstration.

On Wednesday, a group of 50 refuzniks were allowed into Central Committee premises, although Western reporters were barred by police from entering. But the Soviet officials who received them "refused to reply" to the refuzniks' demands, according to refuznik Alexandr Feldman.

Leningrad refuznik Roald Zelichianik said that the "situation in Leningrad is also very tense". Giving details on Sunday's attempted demonstration by a small group of refuzniks in central Palace Square, he said that the 15 people had been confronted by about 300 police.

The demonstration ended after two minutes, with four arrests and one person fined, he said.

The spokesman for the hunger-striking refuzniks, Vladimir Ostroviyakh, said that because of "police brutality" in Moscow he and four others planned to continue the protest even after the end of the summit in order to obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union.

But he could not say whether other refuzniks would pursue their hunger strike in Leningrad, Tallinn, Riga and Novosibirsk.

The refuzniks, noting support for their cause by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, said they now pinned their hopes on the outcome of the summit.

Meanwhile Thursday, the Soviet newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, in an article marking the U.N.-proclaimed International Human Rights Day, accused Western countries of hypocrisy over the fate of the Jewish refuzniks.

The West "sheds crocodile tears" on behalf of the Soviet refuzniks, while "at the same time, the police of these states is cruelly persecuting dissidents and civil rights campaigners, and pacificists", the paper said.

Sverdlovsk 'Rules' for Public Demonstrations
PM101357 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Own Correspondent A. Pashkov article: "The Right Is Guaranteed..."]

[Text] The democratization of social life and the open discussion of problems affecting citizens' interests are now making it necessary to take a new approach even to well-known phenomena. For example, Article 48 of the RSFSR Constitution says: "In accordance with the people's interests and for the purposes of strengthening and developing the socialist system, citizens of the RSFSR are guaranteed the following freedoms: freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom to hold rallies, street processions, and demonstrations.

"The exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by allocating to working people and their organizations public buildings, streets, and squares, by the extensive dissemination of information, and access to the press, television, and radio."

The right existed but it was not always clear how it should be exercised in each specific instance. Thus it is no coincidence that gorispolkoms in a number of cities, in particular Moscow and Leningrad, recently took special decisions defining the procedure for the exercise of this constitutional right of citizens.

A similar document was recently adopted in Sverdlovsk, where the gorispolkom approved "Rules on the procedure for allocating to working people and their organizations public buildings, streets, squares, parks, and gardens in the city of Sverdlovsk for holding meetings, rallies, processions, demonstrations, and other mass events."

The "Rules" emphasize that democracy is not a one-way street but presumes duties as well as rights. Any event by a given group of people or individual citizens must not violate public order, the protection of people's rights amd lawful interests, or moral and ethical norms.

Who has the right to request permission to stage a demonstration, for instance? That right is granted to the administration of state enterprises, establishments, and organizations, leaders of social and cooperative organizations, amateur associations, clubs, sections, and also individual citizens.

The "Rules" state that the request must be submitted in writing and must include the name of the organization submitting the request. Furthermore, the aim, form, place, and time of the event and the approximate number of participants must be clearly stated. The application is to be signed by those so authorized. If requests are made by individual citizens they must give their surname, forename, patronymic, the year and place of their birth, and their place of residence and work.

You may ask: Why are all these details necessary? Is this not an attempt to restrict citizens' rights? No. In the first place, the "Rules" specially stipulate that a refusal to grant permission must be clearly and cogently explained. And second, an appeal may be lodged with a higher body within 10 days, in this case the oblispolkom. Finally, if the purpose of the demonstration does not contradict the RSFSR Constitution and its participants guarantee that, they have no need to fear arbitrary treatment because they are protected by the Republic's Basic Law. If any comment is to be made, this must be done publicly and openly.

The request for permission must be submitted to the gorispolkom at least 10 days before the proposed date of the event and must be examined by it within 3 days. If permission is granted the gorispolkom will take the necessary measures to provide the conditions for holding the event and fix the venue.

The "Rules" allow local soviets to determine the procedure for staging rallies, street processions, and demonstrations, which of course requires that they demonstrate a real rather than feigned ability to work with actual people and that they show political maturity and an up-to-date approach to the solution of various problems.

The final point states that people who have breached the present "Rules" or public order during the period of preparation for and holding of meetings, rallies, street processions, demonstrations, and other mass events are responsible for that fact under the existing law.

The "Rules" have been published in full in VECHERNYY SVERDLOVSK.

Play Recalls Lenin in 'Threatened Minority'
PM071349 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Dec 87 p 3

[Report by Al. Grinevich: "Today in Particular"]

[Text] Today in particular. That kind of play, a passionate meditation on the revolution, was particularly necessary. That kind of Lenin too—combative, unyielding, persuasive.

Mikhail Ulyanov plays him without makeup. He acts his ideas, the quintessence of Lenin. The entire performance by the Yevg. Vakhtangov Theater of the play "Brest Peace" seeks to convey this quintessence. To convey the drama of the times, the real atmosphere of the fierce struggle for the Brest Peace, which nearly ended tragically for the revolution.

M. Shatrov's plays are constantly creating bridges between our days and history. The Vakhtangov players use this "bridge" boldly and confidently. The audience of 1985 was infected with the creative Leninist spirit of the twenties.

"The play, written a quarter of a century ago," director R. Sturua said, "seemed exceedingly modern to me. It seems to breathe the same air as we breathe, and it contains a whirlpool of problems that we are all tackling together today. The problem of peace, the maintenance of world peace—and the price of this difficult struggle. The problem of democratization, the problem of a bold political change of direction. All this is vital, so we have tried to ensure that our production contains living people rather than mere characters. I was excited by the situation Vladimir Ilich found himself in on the question of the Brest Peace. I was excited and staggered by Lenin's confidence, energy, and conviction. After all, the man who could see specific situations in perspective was in a minority—a minority threatened by the most tragic consequences. It is extremely interesting to reflect on this. In fact, it was at moments like that that Ilich's true greatness was revealed. Which makes even more disagreeable the memory of my first Shatrov play, 'Blue Horses On Red Grass,' banned 7 years ago by scared arts bureaucrats.

"At rehearsals we created an amazing atmosphere. All the actors without exception were inspired by the overall concept. We were all infected with the passion of Leninist revolutionaries, their dedication to the cause of revolution. To be honest, as the director I did not even want the rehearsals to end."

The premiere of the play "Brest Peace" was on 30 November. It was attended by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and his wife.

Intensifying Campaign Against Moonshining

AU111027 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 2 Dec 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office and Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Excerpts] The measures taken by party, administrative, and law enforcement organs, by public organizations and labor collectives to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism, and to promote a sober way of life, have helped to raise the level of discipline, reduce the number of industrial injuries, improve the moral atmosphere in society, and further promote legality and law and order in the republic.

At the same time, these negative phenomena are still a long way from having been eradicated and are among the main causes of crimes and other offenses. In a number of oblasts, cities, and localities, the number of crimes perpetrated while the offender is intoxicated, which had somewhat declined in previous years, has increased again in the current year. More drivers have been detained and brought to account for driving motor vehicles while intoxicated.

In many cases, antisocial acts were directly linked to the consumption of moonshine and with moonshine distilling, which not only generates drunkenness with its negative effects, but also causes moral harm to people, results in the destruction of a significant amount of sugar and other products, and causes heavy economic damages to society.

The Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and judiciary are taking the necessary steps to stop and to prevent moonshine distilling, as well as to disclose and punish the culprits in accordance with legal requirements. [passage omitted]

To further intensify the struggle against moonshine distilling, drunkenness, and alcoholism, the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office and Ministry of Internal Affairs have instructed their subordinate organs to institute immediate measures everywhere to disclose and to resolutely stop the criminal activity of moonshine distillers, particularly of the organizers and active participants in moonshine distilling and sales. In addition to broad preventive action, it is essential to make more effective use of provisions under the law to ensure that persons incriminated for vicious moonshine distilling are punished without fail, that their properties are confiscated and that fines imposed for moonshine distilling are executed punctually and completely. Particular attention has been called to the inadmissibility of the slightest relaxation in this respect, and to the need to wage the struggle against moonshine distilling in an agressive and uncompromising way.

Ufa Demonstration Linked to Pollution Problems

PM101201 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 87 p 10

[Special correspondent Zhan Mindubayev report: "Echo of the Event. A City Facing a Problem"]

[Text] Ufa—On 28 November the Ufa City authorities, headed by Mikhail Alekseyevich Zaytsev, recently elected chairman of the gorispolkom, about whom our newspaper recently wrote an article, came face to face with an unexpected situation.

The day before, on Saturday, a light burned late into the night in the windows of the party gorkom and gorispolkom. The same question cropped up repeatedly in the conversation of the people of Ufa: "Will they come or won't they?" That Saturday in the capital of Bashkiria there were practically no instances of hooliganism, robbery, or violations of public order. "A sterile atmosphere," the chief of the city militia said to me Monday. "We sensed that something would happen...."

Not only the militia but probably also every one of the city's million inhabitants guessed that it was on the threshold of some event. Leaflets bearing approximately the same message appeared on entrance doors, in stairwells, and at bus stops: "People of Ufa! Let us not be the hostages of chemistry! Everyone come to the protest demonstration!"

The crux of the matter is as follows. It had been decided to construct a polycarbonate plant in the capital of Bashkiria, which is saturated enough as it is with the petrochemical industry. This evoked, as local newspapers wrote later, "negative sentiments toward the new plant on the part of the population." When they heard about the construction, the people of Ufa became indignant: "Why didn't you find somewhere else for me to live too, wise guys? As it is, we almost have to wear gas masks to live!" This is all true. The ecological situation is particularly serious in the area called Chernikovka.

The people who live in the industrial zone had tried earlier to draw the authorities' attention to their disastrous situation. But they achieved little. Although some 10 years or more ago a resolution was adopted concerning the evacuation of the residents of the most ecologically disastrous microrayon—the settlement of Novaya Aleksandrovka—to another place, thousands of people live there to this day, and there is a hospital there.

And so, instead of cutting the knot of chronic ecological problems, it has been decided to create a new petrochemical plant involving chemical constituents harmful to people's health. The response has been discontent on the part of the residents.

...And so, Sunday, 1000 hours. People gathered on the square near the Ordzhonikidze Palace of Culture. They signed a letter of protest and then moved down Oktyabrskiy Prospekt to the city center. The crowd, which covered the whole avenue, paralyzed traffic. Above people's heads the slogans: "Clean Air for Ufa!"

Approximately 2,000 people assembled in the square in front of the gorispolkom. Many young people and adolescents. Party gorkom and gorispolkom officials came out to them. A megaphone appeared from somewhere and I heard the first contribution:

"Comrades, I am a doctor. I will tell you what I think.... I oppose harmful production facilities...."

A roar of approval.

Another speaker began to say that the polycarbonate plant is not the crux of the problem. It is necessary to strive for reliable technology and implementation of the demands of ecology rather than a ban on construction.... He was not allowed to speak (there were whistles and shouts of "Get him off"). Such was the level of the dialogue.

Trams, buses, trolleybuses, and ambulances were at a standstill. Excited adolescents were nearby. For them, the rally was an excuse for bravado. Gorispolkom Chairman Zaytsev took the megaphone and asked them as a start to move off he thoroughfare toward the theater: The meeting would not disturb anyone there and the discussion could continue calmly.

The response was noise, whistling, and yelling. This went on for 3 hours.

Finally taking an action, a group went into the building along with the leadership of the gorispolkom. It was announced some time later that the discussion begun at the demonstration would be continued 2 days later at a session of the city soviet.

The demonstrators dispersed. Ufa resumed its normal appearance.

During all these days in Ufa, I tried to understand the role and the place of such an unusual—for us—means of expressing people's will as demonstrations, processions, and street rallies, which the Constitution guarantees us. And one thought preoccupied me more than any others: The law is the law, but is its execution guaranteed?

And it turned out that the opportunity to exercise the rights granted to us still depends to a large extent on the specific position and specific officials in the localities. And, if you like, on our collective civil discipline. This is why I thought this. One of the most active protagonists during this time in Ufa was the hero of my recent essay in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, Mikhail Alekseyevich Zaytsev, chairman of the gorispolkom. I would like to see how he, a man who has taken up his post in the course of restructuring, perceives what has happened? What is his opinion of it? What is he doing?

Let us to be fair note that Zaytsev does not have any responsibility for the present state of Ufa's ecology. These are the sins of the past. Second: The local leadership's opinions on the Ufa demonstration are varied. In one office I heard the following:

"It was a meeting of hooligans. Brawlers. They violated order. They disrupted deliveries of products to the stores. They are taking advantage of our tolerance."

But the sensible viewpoint prevailed. I heard Zaytsev speaking to people patiently, respectfully, and with restraint. I heard him try to justify each one of his arguments. I heard the tone of voice he chose when speaking on a local television channel after the rally.

But the nature of his behavior is not the point. Something else is much more important: The head of the city authorities did not even begin to avoid answering the most acute questions, did not hide behind his predecessors, and did not wittingly promise the impossible. He said: We will do everything possible to make Ufa a healthy place to live.

I want to stress that the city soviet did show this concern for the city even before the demonstration. In October deputies examined at a session the question of constructing the polycarbonate manufacturing plant. They submitted a question to N. Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production. It was decided to continue a businesslike discussion of the problem at the next session, with ministry representatives invited along for a thorough analysis of the situation and the residents of Ufa being informed of the results.

...But let us return to the events of recent days. Immediately after the demonstration the gorispolkom approved rules for the staging in Ufa of rallies, processions, demonstrations, and other constitutional means of expressing the people's will. Together with representatives of the public they discussed joint efforts for the protection of the residential environment and it was decided to print a city ecological bulletin every 10 days in the local VECHERNYAYA UFA and to initiate on its pages a discussion of the problems of making Ufa a healthy place to live in. In short, seeking ways out of the problem.

As part of all this, the city soviet decided to ask the USSR Council of Ministers to move the polycarbonate plant outside the city. But the action group which had called the first ecological rally in Ufa asked the gorispolkom to allow another rally to be held on the basis of the rules adopted....

Permission was granted. However, in connection with the fact that the city soviet had recently taken substantial steps to protect the interests of its citizens, the initiators withdrew their petition to hold a second rally.

This means that dialogue is being established. From mutual distrust to mutual understanding. And all within a week. This means that we can do things when we want to.

And something else I would like to say. Sanctioned or not, when the residents of a city go out onto the streets, it is in any case an extraordinary fact. The question involuntarily arises: Would it not be more useful for the particular cause in question to prevent emotional outbursts by people?

Were the party, soviet, and Komsomol officials really not aware of the sentiments of the people of Ufa, and that the situation was becoming heated in connection with the complex ecological situation in the city's industrial regions?! Did the residents not put these issues to their deputies and did the latter not promise to adopt the necessary measures?

All this happened. Nevertheless, the rally took place. Because if something was indeed being done by the city authorities, people were not informed about it or were not convinced.

Everyone without exception must learn democracy. Otherwise, the line where democracy becomes disorder may be overstepped at any moment. Ufa avoided this. But everything could have ended differently.

From the Editorial Office. When this issue had been put together a report came in from Ufa that a special commission headed by Yu.A. Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, has arrived in the city on the instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers. The commission includes senior officials of the USSR Ministry of Health, Gosplan, and the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers. Its task is to study in detail the ecological situation in Ufa.

Last Friday, a meeting took place at the synthetic spirit plant's Palace of Culture between the members of the commission and the city public. Entry was open to everyone.

Professor Blames 'Bureacracy' for Abuses

PM101641 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor S.Dzarasov, holder of the USSR Academy of Sciences chair of political economy: "Political Reform: The Road to People's Power"—first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] Not counting the war, when the question of the very existence of the Soviet state was being decided, it is possible to argue that nothing more important than the current restructuring has happened in our life during the past half-century. Sometimes, people try to attribute the need for restructuring merely to the mistakes and shortcomings of the previous leadership which failed to adopt timely measures to eliminate the negative phenomena in the economy and the social and moral sphere. This explanation is only partly correct. After all, there is something more important, that is to say, the socioeconomic conditions of society's life which facilitate the development of specific trends while precluding the emergence of others.

Thus, all the negative phenomena which we are exposing today and which we find shocking have deep roots. And therefore, one of the key objectives of the party's strategy at the current stage is to create conditions capable of ensuring improvement in all spheres of social life. This—the creation of a favorable political atmosphere for the implementation of a profound economic reform—is what the author of these lines is pondering. It is possible that some of the author's ideas are arguable and they will, undoubtedly, provoke the desire to join in the discussion. We hope that in the course of preparations for the 19th all-union party conference many interesting views will be expressed on the two key trends in the current stage of development of our society, that is the democratization of all social life and radical economic reform.

Looking to the Past To Find the Truth [subhead]

No one will deny today that over the past 70 years, the Soviet state has accomplished an unprecedented flight from backwardness to progress. This rise was not easy. But the enthusiasm born of the great revolution overcame everything. And now we, the grateful descendants and present masters of the country, pay a tribute of profound respect to our fathers and grandfathers who created our mighty industrial power and defended it against the onslaught of its enemies.

At the same time, we know that our peaceful road has been neither straight nor smooth. We have inherited not only the achievements of the past but also heaps of unsolved problems.

After the memorable April 1985, we started to talk openly about something which we knew perfectly well even before. About the braking mechanism which led to the slackening of the people's labor and political activeness. About the fact that our system of economic management proved largely unreceptive to scientific and technological innovations; that our growth rate dropped to the level of economic stagnation and that the growing contradictions in the life of society assumed essentially precrisis dimensions. The uncompromising conclusions that the party is drawing from this confront us all with the necessity to subject the conditions and causes which produced this kind of situation to profound analysis.

After all, this situation did not suddenly rise, like Aphrodite, out of the sea. It was the result of our preceding development. It is extremely difficult to talk about this, even today. Adherence to ingrained stereotypes sometimes borders on unwillingness to learn the real historical truth. This phenomenon is so strong, especially as regards certain representatives of the older generations, that at times you are involuntarily reminded of religious fanaticism. Critical deliberations about the past are often regarded as an attempt to negate our achievements.

Yet a measure of "permissible" criticism and the resolve to really rectify shortcomings go hand in hand. Genuine criticism is impossible if shortcomings are viewed through the rose-colored glasses of a biased view of the past. We cannot proceed from a notion of the past as a continuous string of triumphant victories. We cannot get by without a critical analysis and generalization of what actually happened. The 1917 Revolution was a sharp criticism of the past. But it was not a negation of the achievements of the past, it did not wipe out the material and spiritual culture created by the people and multiplied a hundredfold after the revolution. The same applies to restructuring. It rejects what is bad and consolidates what is good. And it does not devalue anyone's positive labor. We are turning to the past, to facts, documents, events, and personages, not to kindle passions but to establish the truth, without knowledge of which correct practical conclusions cannot be drawn today.

The novelty of our life today does not lie in the fact that negative phenomena have arisen. It lies in the fact that our sight has grown sharper and that our understanding of the processes which are taking place in society is deepening.

War on Bureaucracy [subhead]

Speaking about the past, and in particular about the initial period of the building of socialism in the USSR, we always turn to Lenin's ideas about the tax in kind, the monetary reform, economic accountability [khozraschet], state capitalism, the cooperative movement, and so forth. And this is absolutely correct. **However, Lenin's ideas and practical attempts to implement a political reform remain largely unpublicized.** [boldface as published]

No attention has so far been paid to this aspect of our historical past. As a result, notions have been formulated which, putting it mildly, do not correspond to reality. Is it possible to claim, for instance, that the socialist political system in the USSR was established entirely on the basis of Lenin's ideas? And if so, where did the bureaucracy in our life come from? After all, the struggle against bureaucracy was launched by Lenin. And why has the task of creating democracy, people's power, and self-management arisen in the course of restructuring?

A number of fundamental tasks of our revolution which remain unresolved force us to return to Lenin's ideas on these issues as contained in his last articles and letters. They indicate that, among a large number of problems about which Lenin was concerned, he singled out two main ones—bureaucracy and a split in the party.

Let us begin with the first of these problems. "We are sinking into a foul bureaucratic morass of paperwork, of compiling decrees and talking about compiling decrees,

and in this sea of paper real work is drowned. Skillful saboteurs are deliberately dragging us into this morass of paperwork," he wrote to Tsyurupa.

It is difficult to see why he should have posed this question in this way if bureaucracy were merely the red tape which inevitably is one of its attributes. However, its essence goes much deeper. "Bureaucracy," Marx wrote, "regards itself as the ultimate aim of the state. Since bureaucracy turns its 'formal' aims into its content, it is constantly coming into conflict with the 'real' aims. It is forced to present form as content and content as form."

Unfortunately, the very same thing has happened in our country—formal equality has been substituted for real equality. Bureaucracy preserved and cultivated relations of actual inequality whose eradication was a basic aim of the revolution. The aim of the revolution was to establish genuine people's power and consequently to create equal opportunities for participation in management. Bureaucracy replaced this aim by instituting itself as the only exponent of the people's interests.

It succeeded thanks to the fact that the management apparatus cut itself off, placed itself above elective organs, and developed separate interests and frequently also unchecked power. "It is impossible to overlook," the Central Committee Political report to the 27th party congress says, "that apparatus officials who have held their posts for a long time frequently lose a taste for the new, cut themselves off from the people by means of instructions which they themselves compile, and sometimes even hamper the work of elective organs."

In present-day conditions, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, bureaucracy presents a serious obstacle in the path of resolving our main task—the acceleration of socioeconomic development and the radical restructuring of the management mechanism which goes with it. Therefore, bureaucracy cannot be regarded as merely a niggling problem that does not affect the foundations of our life.

Facts and documents show how resolutely Lenin fought against communist arrogance and for real equality among people, irrespective of the position they held. There is an interesting testimony by Lunacharskiy about how Lenin could not bear anything reminiscent of relations of superiority and subordination: "Lenin was a man of enormous authority...but there was not a hint of an overbearing attitude in him. A simpler manner in dealing with absolutely everyone is hard to imagine....

"There is much evidence of an overbearing attitude even among communists themselves. And it is this attitude that Ilich wanted to get rid of once and for all. If we are going to have so-called command personnel, people who have passed through workers' universities and higher educational establishments, could it not happen that they degenerate into overbearing command personnel? This is a big question."

For V.I. Lenin the question of equality in relations between rank and file and officials was not confined to the leader's style or personality but was of a more fundamental importance connected with the nature of the new social system. He was convinced that socialism develops and becomes part and parcel of people's lives and consciousness in step with the establishment of traditions and mutual relations between people characterized by freedom and equality.

Unfortunately, after Lenin's death different relations began to establish themselves between leaders and subordinates, and Lenin's concept of the struggle for equality was put down to his personal modesty. But after all, many outstanding people were noted for their modesty. Lenin's simplicity and modesty were of a different order. They must be seen not only as his personal qualities, but as a general norm of relations of social equality which, in Lenin's view, was to be established by the new people's power.

The socialization of the means of production and people's equality in respect of the means of production was the first revolutionary step toward the elimination of domination and subordination. The next and no less important step was to be the creation of a political system which would place all the working people on an equal social footing. The dictatorship of the proletariat was to gradually develop and assume the features and forms of broad people's power and people's self-management.

However, a serious obstacle arose unexpectedly in this path. The thirst for power proved no less strong and important than the thirst for riches. Together with the new power a new bureaucracy began to form which, undermining all attempts at people's self-management, sought to grab key posts at the center and at local level.

Plus Democracy [subhead]

Lenin immediately recognized this danger. Having taken the turn toward the new economic policy, he was perfectly well aware that it would be impossible to implement this course without a political restructuring and without genuine democracy which would create and develop the creative initiative of the people. A democracy which guarantees the working people real, rather than formal, participation in management.

Lenin embarked on working out a broad political reform. After his second attack of illness, when his right arm and leg were paralyzed and he felt close to the grave, he was seized by special concern for the fate of the party and the people. On 23 December 1922, Lenin asked his doctors' permission to dictate to a stenographer for 5

minutes "because," he said, "one question is worrying me, and I am afraid I might fall asleep." Obtaining the permission, Lenin summoned M.A. Volodicheva and dictated to her the first part, and later other parts, of the "Letter to the Congress" which begins with the words: "I would like to urge you to make a number of changes in our political system at this congress."

It is known from the reminiscences of Lenin's sister M.I. Ulyanova and his secretary L.S. Fotiyeva that on the following day the doctors demanded that Lenin stop his conversatins with his secretary and stenographer. However, he was implacable and said that unless he was allowed to dictate he would refuse to be treated altogether. The doctors apparently reported Lenin's ultimatum to the Central Committee and on the same day, at a conference of the doctors with Stalin, Kamenev, and Bukharin, it was decided that Vladimir Ilich should be allowed to dictate 5-10 minutes daily. However, it was added that this should not be in the nature of correspondence and that Lenin should not expect an answer to his notes. Stricter rules were introduced. Visits were cancelled and friends and family were forbidden to report political news to Vladimir Ilich.

Was all this an expression of genuine concern for Lenin's health or was it a cover for his political isolation? The best answer to this question is provided by the content of the letter to which Vladimir Ilich himself clearly attached exceptional importance. According to M.A. Volodicheva's testimony: "He asked that envelopes with wax seals which, according to his wish contained copies of the documents, be marked 'to be opened only by V.I. Lenin or after his death by Nadezhda Konstantinovna.'"

In the "Letter to the Congress" Lenin put in concrete form,with a view to the party's acitivities, the measures proposed to combat bureaucracy and also outlined a number of new measures to avoid a split in the party. The whole thrust of the letter is focused on expanding intraparty democracy and preserving and strengthening party unity. To this end, it was proposed to increase the number of Central Committee members, to reinforce the control functions of the Central Control Commission (TsKK), to involve rank-and-file representatives of the working class in its work, and also to think over a way of removing Stalin from the post of general secretary and appointing someone else to this post who would be capable of preserving party unity.

It is possible that, had he not been in a critical physical condition, Lenin would have elaborated a more extensive program of political reform. Nonetheless, even the proposed measures were of fundamental importance. Had they been implemented, they would have prevented the split in the party and the grave consequences connected with it.

In my view, Lenin's ideas and proposals assume particular importance in connection with the 19th All-Union Party Conference scheduled for 1988. It seems necessary to me to return, in particular, to the proposed measures to reinforce the control functions of the TsKK. In the "Letter to the Congress" and in the paper "How We Should Reorganize the Rabkrin" [Worker-Peasant Inspection], V.I. Lenin developed the idea, expressed earlier, that the TsKK was accountable "only to the party congress, and is organized in such a way that members of the TsKK have no, not even the smallest, connection with any people's commissariat or department or organ of soviet power." Only given this independence in daily work and accountability to the congress as the party's supreme organ could the party's supreme control organ function effectively.

As part of the preparations for the regular 12th party congress, V.I. Lenin proposed a reform of the TsKK's activity to ensure that its members, "of whom a set number is obliged to attend every session of the Politburo, form a cohesive group which 'irrespective of personalities' must ensure that no one—and that includes the general secretary or any other member of the Central Committee—can use his authority to stop them asking questions, checking documents, and in general ensuring that everyone is well-briefed and that business is conducted strictly according to rules." The involvement in the work of the Central Committee and the TsKK of rank-and-file members of the party independent of central and local party leaders would constitute one of the key measures designed to prevent a split in the party and overcome bureaucracy.

Lenin's ideas were a generalization of the short but real historical experience which the young Soviet state had accumulated at that time. We now have tremendous experience whose generalization makes it possible to understand better the depth and thrust of Lenin's ideas.

Lenin regarded the alliance between the working class and peasantry as the fundamental precondition of the successful building of socialism. It is from this that he deduced the need for party unity. And it was no accident that members of the Central Committee swore loyalty to this behest over Lenin's coffin. However, in practice they did not succeed. What Lenin was afraid of happened: Conflicts between small factions within the Central Committee assumed disproportionate importance for the fate of the party and its split became a fact, despite Lenin's warnings that it would be ruinous for the Soviet republic."

Lenin saw the biggest threat to socialism in the bureaucracy and communist arrogance which were beginning to emerge at that time. Subsequently, especially during the thirties and forties, bureaucracy grew colossally and became the main impediment to development.

Generalizing the experience of the political crisis of 1921, Lenin pointed out that the success of party policy and the Soviet state's activity depends on whether they accord with the interests of the broad masses of the people. He saw a guarantee of this accord in the daily

monitoring by communists and all working people of the apparatus of the party and the state, a broad system of elections and representation, unlimited criticism, and effective organization of the work of the Rabkrin organs and the TsKK.

Unfortunately, Lenin's ideas and proposals were subsequently not implemented. Now we know what this led to: The dictatorship of the proletariat, rather than developing into a system of broad people's power as Lenin had proposed, was largely transformed into a dictatorship of personal power, into a bureaucratic-command system of management. As a result we digressed from the main aim set by October.

We must now listen attentively to the sincere voice of Lenin and he will become our best ally in the struggle for restructuring. The revolutionary nature of restructuring consists in the resumption of the struggle to implment the aims of our revolution which were not attained, in the firm establishment of genuine people's power, in the creation of a political democracy equivalent to the economic basis of socialism.

Lessons of the Severed Experience [subhead]

Scientific socialism as understood by its founders—Marx, Engels, and Lenin—is unthinkable without political democracy. The need for this democracy has always been knocking on our door, but it was suppressed.

This happened even after the 20th party congress. The turn marked by this congress was received and subsequently presented by many people as a manifestation of N.S. Khrushchev's subjectivism. This was a profound error! In actual fact this turn stemmed from the needs of our social system. It was an unconscious and therefore vague and irresolute but objectively necessary attempt to return to the course of democratization proposed by V.I. Lenin in his last articles and letters. Open criticism of Stalin and of the shortcomings in economic, political, and cultural life had a beneficial effect on many strata of society. People gradually rid themselves of old dogmas and prejudicies and started to think creatively.

Theoretical thought also became richer. From the early sixties onwards a lively discussion began of a number of radical problems of economic development. It was no accident that an article by Academician V.S. Nemchinov published in 1964, which sets out a new approach to the practice of planning, was mentioned at the Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. A number of other questions pertaining to the transition from formal to real economic accountability [khozraschet], the role of profit and profitability of enterprises, labor incentives, and so forth were also discussed. All these ideas formed the basis of the 1965 reform.

Unfortunately, the measures outlined were of a partial rather than systematic nature and their implementation was inconsistent.

The 22d party congress, which adopted a new Party Program, imparted an important impetus to the search for new ways of resolving the tasks confronting the country. Proceeding from the lessons of the past, the congress noted: "...a situation must always prevail in the party where any leader is accountable to the party and its organs so that the party can replace any leader should it consider this necessary." Changes were introduced in the CPSU Statutes about the replaceability of party organs and leading cadres with the aim of promoting an influx of new forces.

However, soon it became clear that the changes were being resisted not by the isolated group of former party leaders who were under attack at that time, but by the bureacracy which had infiltrated the party to a much greater depth. This was aptly noted by P. Togliatti in his "Memorable Notes," written prior to his death and published in PRAVDA of 10 September 1964: "A general impression is formed of foot-dragging and resistance to a return to Leninist norms which would ensure, both within the party and without, a greater freedom of expression and discussion on questions of culture, art, and also politics. It is difficult for us to understand this foot-dragging and resistance."

The Central Committee October (1964) Plenum which took place a month after the publication of the "Notes" made clear what was incomprehensible before. Even the timid and inconsistent process of democratization had been disrupted. The main reason was that the transformations were being carried out without the necessary reliance on party and nonparty masses, whose role remained unchanged. Rank-and-file communists and working people did not become genuine masters of production responsible for its results. Labor collectives remained mere executors. In these conditions it was not possible to count on success. You cannot make the people happy without enlisting their participation.

So the success of the 1965 reform could also be only partial. It brought into play only short-term growth factors without involving deep resources and the motive forces of socioeconomic development. One such force is the feeling of being in charge. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January, June, and October (1987) Plenums are aimed at instilling a proprietary attitude, a sense of personal responsibility in everyone for the results of his work and activity. They have determined the priority of the political approach to the solution of economic tasks.

Heeding the Voice of the Masses [subhead]

The priority of political approaches in the main spheres of the current restructuring oblige us all to return once more to the propositions of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the role of the people's masses and the individual in history. This is another range of questions which, in my view, demand profound reinterpretation in the course of the preparations for the 19th party conference.

The voice of the masses is not only October, not only the soviets which guarantee the broad representation of the people, and not only the people's vanguard—the party. Let us recall how loudly and resolutely the people themselves spoke out at the end of the civil war against food requisitioning and for the tax in kind. V.I. Lenin took the people's dissatisfaction as the fundamental basis of the formulation of the party's policy at that stage. He pointed out: "Compared with the people's masses we are just a drop in the ocean and we can manage only if we express correctly what the people feel." NEP [New Economic Policy] was an expression of such a change in party policy.

However, this period in our history must not be regarded as something fortuitous, brought about merely by external circumstances and uncharacteristic of the Leninist concept of party building. On the contrary, in creating the party of the new type, Vladimir Ilich constantly pursued the aim of ensuring that it was a leading party—without, however, supplanting the people's masses in their revolutionary movement. According to Lenin the party always was the force which elevated the masses—this is how he understood the mutual relations between party members and the masses.

After V.I. Lenin's death a certain deviation from these principles occurred. The question: "And what would have happened if Lenin had not died?" which is sometimes asked sounds naive. It is impossible to give a correct answer to an incorrectly formulated question. Time cannot be turned back and it is impossible to know how events would have developed had Lenin been present. Outstanding personalities have a great impact on the development of events, but these personalities themselves are also the product of historical development. The revolution was engendered by history rather than Lenin. The fact that he understood what was happening better than others and that as a result was able to and did assume the leadership of the movement toward the pressing necessity is another matter.

The future of the revolution depended not on Lenin's actions but on the outcome of the struggle for the realization of the revolution's ideals and aims. When the upheavals of the revolution culminated in what appeared to be such a happy ending and the passions began to subside, underground currents were already preparing new storms. The development of the revolution revealed the ideological and moral nature of each of its participants by confronting him with the question: Did you serve the revolution for the sake of social ideals or for your own selfish ends?

And both the leaders and the rank and file gave different answers to this question. Some remained true to the revolution and served it to the end. Others decided to use the new power for their own purposes and to take up positions which afforded them the best possible access to the good things in life. It was they who formed the backbone of the bureacracy which was emerging at that time—a bureaucracy which, while preserving the phraseology of the revolution, departed from it in practice.

The experience of the past and the interests of the present demand a direct and exacting approach to the question of the responsibility of people elected to party organs. The abuse of power which is currently being exposed could not have happened if a mechanism of control from below, as suggested by Lenin at the time, had been introduced. With the passage of time many people came to regard the right to be a member of the Central Committee as an acknowledgement of their exclusive status rather than a debt to be repaid.

I believe that in connection with the upcoming 19th party conference the question of the responsibility of elected representatives should be raised. Especially as regards members of the party's Central Committee, toward whom Vladimir Ilich was always especially demanding. After all, the decisions which they adopt are of historic importance for our people and frequently for the whole world.

The Greatest Interest [subhead]

The barometer of the revolution, the criterion of the achievement of its aims is not the mood and enthusiasm of individual sections of society but the nature of power, the degree to which the people are masters of their destiny, the way in which they manage and decide their affairs. To counter this the dictatorship of personal power produced an ideology which explains the historical process as the manifestation of the will of a strong personality. Exaggerating the importance of the people who hold power at the center or at local level has become an ingrained habit. The struggle against the personality cult which was initiated at the 20th party congress did not lead to the eradication of this deformation. Let's be frank and admit that it was characteristic of many ideological establishments up until very recently. In Uzbekistan they extolled Rashidov, in Kazakhstan it was Kunayev, elsewhere there also were bigger or smaller cults. This is why a debate about the responsibility of members of elective party organs is necessary, about the special, I would say antibureaucratic, mode of their work, about a constant, critically assessed, accountability of these elected representatives of the party to the communists who put them forward and to their primary organizations.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum raised the question of a new quality of control over elective organs and officials. "What we need," M.S. Gorbachev has said, "is to fully master the Leninist principle of socialist control which combines the broadest democracy with party leadership. We regard people's control both as an effective means of exposing overdue questions and as one of the most important forms of involving the masses in the process of self-management of the affairs of society and the state."

In addition to the democratization of the economy, the transition to broad political democracy, to genuine people's power is what will enable people to feel that they are true masters of their own country. And the interest of the working people acting as masters of production is the strongest impetus and most powerful motive force of acceleration. Without bearing this key conclusion of the Central Committee June Plenum in mind, we will not be able to resolve our tasks.

Krasnodar Kraykom Plenum Reported

PM091027 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Dec 87 First Edition p 2

[Report by "our own correspondent" V. Udachin under the rubric "Report on Restructuring on the Agenda": "Telling the Truth About Oneself; From the Krasnodar Party Kraykom Plenum"; boldface passages as published]

[Text] About 20 days before the Krasnodar Kraykom plenum, it was as though some lever had been thrown in the mechanism of its preparation, a mechanism well-tuned over the years, and had moved the switch of the plenum's preparation from the narrow-gauge bureaucratic railroad to the broad road of glasnost. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUBAN published an appeal from the bureau to the Communists and all working people of the kray to put their comments and proposals to the plenum. The kraykom received about 1,000 written and verbal messages. They contained critical remarks and concrete proposals about the work of the bureau and the most diverse problems of the kray's socioeconomic life. The secretaries and bureau members met with enterprise directors, kolkhoz chairman, scientists and specialists, the creative intelligentsia, and veterans.

The report delivered by I.K. Polozkov on the bureau's work in leading restructuring presented the collective opinion of all bureau members of their activity as a whole and the work of each of them. I.K. Plovkov began with himself. He admitted self-critically that he could see his omissions in work, blunders, and unused opportunities but still lacked breadth in encompassing the entire range of problems of restructuring. The first secretary is frequently diverted to the solution of private, sometimes trivial issues and sometimes there is not enough time to coordinate the work of bureau members, secretaries, the apparatus of the kraykom, and the leaders of the kray services. Is that not why far less has been done than the bureau planned?

In the bureau's opinion, second secretary B.G. Kibirev is failing to make an in-depth analysis of the contradictions of real life and their social nature under the conditions of the kray and lacks the ability to select the key avenues in ideological work. This year V.A. Voronko, A.A. Dzharimov, and N.V. Priz were elected secretaries. They still have little experience but it would be useful from their first steps to avoid technocratic approaches, red tape, and a preoccupation with holding sessions.

The bureau's work style and mutual relations between the apparatus and the elected organ—those were perhaps the main themes of the very full discussion at the plenum. Talk turned on the thrust of party leadership.

Many speakers noted good changes—there has been an increase in efficiency, specific content, and glasnost, there is less excessive organization and red tape, secretaries and bureau members visit labor collectives more frequently, and the bureau has become closer to the raykoms and gorkoms. But N.V. Khvorostyanskiy, first secretary of the Novorossiysk CPSU Gorkom, who opened the debates, immediately touched on the urgent question of the demarcation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs. We talk a lot about usurpation but we do little to eradicate this practice. Bureau sessions sometimes examine questions which should be resolved by the krayispolkom or kray administrations and departments.

"Is the bureau not watching over the work of the krayispolkom too closely, thus encouraging irresponsibility and lack of initiative?" V.S. Yurchenko, first secretary of the Pavlovskiy Raykom, supported Khvorostyanskiy. Telegrams signed by the kraykom secretary and krayispolkom chairman demand that the raykoms' secretaries immediately examine every field with respect to the fight against pests, select quality-standardized livestock on the farms, conclude a contract, or make financing available.... The krayispolkom, the krayagroprom and their leaders, and bureau members N.I. Kondratenko, Ye.Ya. Nazarov, and V.G. Chinyakin must each carry their functional "baggage" and must not take cover under the authority of the kraykom but enhance their own.

Yes, the plenum participants agreed, there are now fewer pieces of paper and telephone calls. On the other hand, a "barrage" of commissions, checks, and reviews has descended on them. Some 19 commissions from central organs and over 130 from kray organs have visited Novorossiysk this year. From 15 through 25 October, six kray commissions with a total of 50 members descended on Kushchevskiy Rayon. The "landing force" had to be accommodated in... the school boarding house.

F.V. Dolzhenko, first secretary of the Novopokrovskiy Raykom, complained: "In the past 2 years the kray organizations, including the kraykom bureau, have been sharpening their critical pens on our rayon but are not bothering to investigate our problems and resolve them together."

In the plenum participants' opinion this sector of the bureau's work—the fulfillment of its own decisions—is weak. Some 2 years ago, after the series of articles entitled "Stirring Up Is Ruled Out" published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, the bureau heard a comprehensive report from the Kushchevskiy Raykom and adopted a good resolution. At the time the secretaries and sector workers rendered a large amount of assistance

to the raykom in restructuring. But later this work began to slacken and, as S.Ye. Teslya, director of the "Stepnyanskiy" sovkhoz, noted, not a single kraykom secretary or bureau member visited subsequent raykom plenums. They do not even appear in the rayon on political days. So what can be said about the solution of the tight knot of socioeconomic problems? M.M. Lomach, general director of the "Kuban" agro-industrial complex, stressed that many bureau resolutions are not fulfilled yet are nonetheless removed from control. M.S. Razin, chief of the Krayispolkom internal affairs administration, added that resolutions are frequently prepared without the participation of experts on the matter in question. The speakers recommended that I.K. Polozkov develop collegiality in drafting decisions and that he should not rely here solely on the competence of the party apparatus, and said that he should step up control over the execution of bureau and plenum resolutions.

The plenum participants supported the report's thesis regarding some forms of party work which are delaying restructuring. It is a case of the obvious overloading of raykom and gorkom secretaries with various compulsory sessions regulated by the CPSU rules and instructions. Khvorostyanskiy has calculated that about 4 months a year are spent on sessions. And is it only the secretaries' time they consume? A note to the presidium: "I wholly and fully agree with Comrade Khvorostyanskiy's speech. I am not a gorkom first secretary--I am an ordinary machine operator. But I also frequently attend various events. For up to 10-12 days in recent months. When can I work? Hero of the Soviet Union A. Siyukhov, link leader at the kolkhoz named for the 22d CPSU Congress, Shovgenovskiy Rayon." This practice chains down enterprising people and produces lovers of conferences.

The Krasnodar Communists will submit the following proposal to the platform of the 19th all-union party conference: **review the prevailing practice and normative documents defining the time intervals between bureaus, plenums, and meetings, and reduce their number.**

Not one of the speakers bypassed the cadres problem. The bureau is seeking new approaches based on broad democratization and glasnost. Over 10,000 leaders of various ranks have been promoted by the method of open selection in the kray and 876 people have been elected on a competitive basis. Over 400 nominations of candidates by party committees failed to find support in the labor collectives. Approving this practice, the plenum participants rightly criticized the bureau for cases of hasty, intuitive selection, for its trial and error method unacceptable in cadres work, and for the lack of scientifically substantiated criteria and tests. Indeed, the plenum stressed, it is not so much a matter of the bureau itself being specifically to blame, it is more a general party ailment. So far, there is no system of cadres work in the party. The general Leninist principles for the selection of cadres are not working because of the great influence of subjective factors. Measures to improve cadres work are of a disjointed nature. And right now the party committee lacks not only subdivisions but even people responsible for this matter. Everyone—and no one in particular—is responsible. **The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences has failed to arm the committees with effective systems of methods. The question of creating a cadres work system is so important that, in the plenum's opinion, it merits compulsory examination at the 19th all-union party conference.**

And how is the activeness of members of the elected organ to be enhanced? It is not the best practice that has taken shape when their public work is restricted to taking part in sessions, while the apparatus engages in preparing questions, elaborating decisions, and organizing and verifying execution. The impression has been formed that the people working in the kraykom building are the party kraykom. Yet the apparatus consists only of workers servicing the elected organ. Yet, as T.P. Petrova, first secretary of the Anapa party gorkom, stressed, today the kraykom apparatus dictates and determines what the members of the elected organ should do and how and when. V.V. Yershov, apparatchik at the Krasnodar chemical plant, justifiably criticized the bureau and organizational section for the lack of any system in work with rank and file kraykom members. In 2 years, there has not been a single attempt to teach him how to behave at plenums and in his labor collectives and there has been no specific assignment. In September the kraykom team working in Belorechensk city, where the plant is situated, did not even meet with kraykom member Yershov.

In the past 2 years, the Kropotkin Gorkom has twice been the subject of discussion at the kraykom bureau yet kraykom member Yu.A. Domrachev, a driver at the local locomotive depot, has been invited to neither session. Yershov and Domrachev do not want to be "wedding ushers" or "honorary assessors," they want to take part in the work of the elected organ, in the preparation and implementation of the decisions which are taken, and to present clearly the range of their rights and duties, their role and place in the city and rayon party organizations. It is by no means rank and file questions which the "rank and file" kraykom members raised! And they will submit the following proposal for discussion at the 19th all-union party conference: **elaborate and define in the CPSU rules the status of the member of an elected organ—party bureau or party committee, gorkom and raykom, kraykom and obkom.**

As the plenum proceeded, its participants became increasingly aware of the idea of the need for regular bureau reports. With the plenum's support, Z.I. Borovikova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kurganinskiy Raykom, submitted the following proposal for discussion by the 19th all-union party conference in the following draft: **Bureau reports must be made the norm of party life and the relevant changes must be made to the CPSU Rules. Specifically: Kraykom, obkom, gorkom, and raykom**

bureau reports must be held once between conferences, and party committee and party bureau reports once between report and election meetings.

Some 22 people spoke. They had already "summed up," published the results of the questionnaires, heard the concluding speech by I.K. Polozkov, and adopted 13 addenda from the commission to the draft resolution and a number of businesslike local proposals when a young woman rose and resolutely approached the roving microphone in the hall.

"Do you have an addendum to the draft?" the chairman asked.

"No. But I was not given the floor and my comrades told me I must speak without fail...."

And Nina Yermola, a poultry raiser from the Labinsk state poultry breeding plant, briefly set forth the gist of her urgent problem. The plenum was into its sixth hour but it heard the poultry raiser with understanding and resolved to regard her address as a speech in the debates. Thus, Nina Yermola became the 23d speaker at this not entirely usual session.

I asked several comrades whether the plenum had justified their expectations. A.F. Nedilko, first secretary of the Novokubanskiy Raykom: "It has. Very many interesting ideas were expressed. Particularly the idea that the decisions made must be fulfilled not 'mainly' but fully. But here's what I didn't like. Some comrades are failing to react in their speeches to the criticism in the report. That is not the party way." V.S. Yurchenko, first secretary of the Pavlovskiy Raykom: "For all its shortcomings, the plenum was a success. It gave a realistic assessment of restructuring. We heard the truth about ourselves. Now everything depends on the organization of practical work locally. But the kraykom bureau must become a strong orchestral conductor."

Kraykom First Secretary I.K. Polozkov:

"Without trying to flatter myself, I think the plenum was in some respects a turning point. As a man I am glad for the workers and kolkhoz members. How many problems have been put before the bureau and secretariat. We must think very seriously about how to change the style of the kraykom apparatus. That is now the most important question.... As a whole, I am satisfied. All bureau members were criticized and talk proceeded according to the agenda and was open and keen. We will preserve and develop this atmosphere of party comradeship and open discussion. Glasnost and democratization need no vacation."

Prosecutors Punished for Wrongful Indictment

PM101503 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 87 p 12

[USSR General Prosecutor A. Rekunkov "Official Response. 'The Secrets of the Investigation'"; first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] "The Secrets of the Investigation" was the title of an article by O. Chaykovskaya (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 15 July 1987). It discussed most flagrant law infringements permitted by RSFSR Prosecutor's Office staffers. The newspaper article provoked a vigorous readers' mailbag. The authors of the letters asked what punishment was inflicted on the guilty officials.

The editorial office has received an answer written by A.M. Rekunov, USSR general prosecutor. The answer says:

The USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium has examined the facts of the flagrant breach of legality associated with the institution of criminal proceedings against N.P. Kondratenko, former pro-vice chancellor of the All-Union Juridical Correspondence Institute, whom the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office accused of receiving bribes to help people enter the All-Union Juridical Correspondence Institute. It has been established that his arrest and the institution of criminal proceedings against him were undertaken without sufficient grounds. The criminal proceedings against Comrade Kondratenko have been dismissed by the RSFSR Supreme Court Presidium due to lack of evidence that he participated in committing the crime. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has declared this decision to be legal and well-founded. Apologies have been made to Comrade N.P. Kondratenko. Comrade V.A. Reva, RSFSR Prosecutor's Office senior investigator for particularly important cases, has been relieved of his post for lack of objectivity tolerated in assessing available evidence and for violating legality in investigating this criminal case. Comrade N.N. Sirotkin, former chief of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office Investigation Section and now RSFSR assistant prosecutor, has been relieved of his post for poor prosecution supervision of this case and unobjective assessment of the investigation materials. A.N. Pakhmutov, RSFSR Prosecutor's Office department prosecutor, has been given a reprimand for errors in assessing the case evidence when acting as public prosecutor in court. Comrade I.S. Zemlyanushina, RSFSR deputy prosecutor, has been given a strict reprimand for the unwarranted arrest and institution of criminal proceedings against Comrade N.P. Kondratenko. S.A. Yemelyanova, RSFSR prosecutor, has been strictly censured for lack of due control over the investigation of this case, and it has been proposed that urgent measures be adopted to fundamentally restructure the work of the investigation administration and to exclude instances of unwarranted institution of criminal proceedings against citizens.

THE USSR Prosecutor's Office has taken other additional measures which aim to strengthen legality in the activity of the law enforcement organs.

Prosecutor's Office Firings After Prosecution
PM091335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

["Official Reply" by L. Baranov, Moscow city prosecutor and state legal adviser 2d class, to article entitled "Combating Lawlessness" under the rubric "The Reader-the Newspaper"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] "Combating Lawlessness" is the title of an article published in PRAVDA 15 October 1987 discussing the wrongful prosecution of Senior Militia Lieutenant N. Averina. The item aroused great interest among our readers. Today we are publishing a series of responses and the first official reply to the article.

The Moscow Prosecutor's Office has examined the article by G. Vokhmyanin entitled "Combating Lawlessness," published in PRAVDA on 15 October 1987. The author of the article gave a correct account of the circumstances of the wrongful prosecution of N.A. Averina, senior official in the militia criminal investigation department attached to the Kosmos Hotel.

Criminal proceedings were instituted by investigating officer A.F. Mukhanov from the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office without verifying the authenticity of the information contained in the report and statement by A.I. Kamyshnikov, head of department, who had a hostile official relationship with N.A. Averina. On the same day A.F. Mukhanov issued orders, although not legally authorized to do so, to search the office and apartments of N.A. Averina and her parents, these orders having been sanctioned by A.V. Vinogradov, former deputy rayon prosecutor who is no longer employed in the city prosecutor's office. Responsibility for one of the searches was delegated to militia member V.V. Popovnin, a colleague of N.A. Averina, who failed to record in the protocol another three militia members involved in the search, whose testimonies were later used as evidence.

Obscuring the issue, conducting the investigation unobjectively and unprofessionally, and giving a biassed assessment of the evidence, despite the fact that this evidence revealed no criminal element in the actions of N.A. Averina, A.F. Mukhanov unlawfully brought charges against her and committed other serious violations of criminal and procedural law.

Despite the obvious lack of evidence showing N.A. Averina to be guilty as charged, A.I. Sazonov, Dzerzhinskiy Rayon deputy prosecutor, approved the bill of indictment and handed the case over to the Tushinskiy Rayon People's Court, on whose judgement it was rightly returned for further investigation.

In February this year, on the termination of the prosecution of N.A. Averina due to the lack of corpus delicti in her actions, the case was taken up by the Moscow Prosecutor's Office, which approved inadequate measures against the guilty parties as indicated in the article. Consequently, on 29 October this year, the results of the verification procedure involving A.S. Pobezhimov, USSR deputy general prosecutor, and all rayon prosecutors were discussed at an extended session of the Moscow Prosecutor's Office collegium.

On 4 November A.F. Mukhanov was dismissed from the prosecutor's office at the order of the Moscow public prosecutor. Following the same order, A.T. Merkulov, Dzerzhinskiy Rayon prosecutor, was issued a severe reprimand for failing to ensure compliance with the law in the investigation of the N.A. Averina case. A.I. Sazonov, deputy rayon prosecutor, was released from his duties for breaking the law and wrongfully handing the matter over to court. N.I. Kapinus, deputy chief of the city prosecutor department responsible for supervising investigation and inquiry in internal affairs bodies, was severely reprimanded for failing to ensure strict control over the investigation of the case. Information has been sent to the Moscow city court party organization in order to take measures at the workplace of G.A. Golovina, former department prosecutor, who poorly monitored the investigation.

The department leadership and all rayon prosecutors have been instructed to take specific measures aimed at improving supervision over the investigation of all criminal cases, including cases against militia members, and eliminating cases where Soviet citizens' legal rights and interests are violated.

A decision has been taken to discuss the demands contained in the order at operational conferences in all rayon prosecutor's offices, investigations administrations, and the aforementioned department of the city prosecutor's office.

On 6 November the Moscow prosecutor issued an official apology to N.A. Averina in the presence of his colleagues at the militia department attached to the Kosmos Hotel for the unlawful actions of the aforementioned prosecution office officials.

Reprimand for Official Who Burned Article
PM091351 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Dec 87 First Edition p 2

[Article for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA by TASS special correspondent Yu. Solyanikov under the rubric "Economic and Social Problems": "Tarusa Auto-da-Fe"]

[Text] Kaluga—A feuilleton in an issue of the rayon newspaper OKTYABR ready to go to press was removed in an original way. As half of the edition was already printed, A. Lazarev, second secretary of the Tarusskiy CPSU Raykom, took it into his own hands to burn this half.

This was done to protect from criticism A. Skripin, deputy chief and party organization secretary of the Tarusa SMU-18 "Tsentrakademstroy" Trust. Based on facts brought to light by the rayon people's control committee, the feuilleton discussed his abuses of motor vehicle transport when building himself a dacha.

A hard-hitting article about this appeared in the Kaluga oblast newspaper ZNAMYA and attracted attention. The incident was discussed at the oblast party committee bureau. A. Lazarev's actions were described as a recurrence of his authoritarian, pressurizing work style.

The obkom bureau issued A. Lazarev with a severe reprimand entered on his service record for flagrantly violating the norms of party leadership of the press and suppressing criticism. The same party reprimand was issued to Z. Zelenova, secretary of the Tarusskiy CPSU Raykom responsible for ideological questions, for her lack of principle and irresponsible conduct in the conflict situation which arose and for refusing to become involved in taking the right decision. The Tarusskiy CPSU Raykom has been instructed to discuss at a plenum the question of A. Lazarev and Z. Zelenova remaining in their posts as raykom secretaries.

Having considered all the circumstances of the incident, members of the CPSU obkom bureau felt it necessary to issue a severe reprimand to Z. Vinogradova, acting editor of the rayon newspaper OKTYABR, to be entered on her service record for her inability to withstand wrongful pressure on the editorial office and for failing to promptly inform the CPSU obkom of the plans to eliminate the edition.

Economic

Labor Official Interviewed on New Wage System

LD041317 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] [Announcer] In less than a month, most of our country's enterprises will change over to new management conditions. An important place here will belong to new principles of the organization of labor and remuneration. Listen to an interview with Boris Nikolayevich Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, by our correspondent Igor Zorin:

[Begin recording] [Zorin] Since this summer, the book on improving the organization of wages and introducing sectors of the national economy has been your constant reference book. What can be said today about how these new principles are being implemented in the national economy? [Gavrilov] Our main concern today is the practical realization of all ideas on improving wages. Changing enterprises over to full financial autonomy and self-financing, will mean that enterprises will next year turn out 60% of the volume of output operating under this principle. Under these new economic conditions, we cannot apply the old conditions of remuneration. Therefore, the problem has arisen of radically changing the entire organization of labor and of proceeding in such a way that the economic mechanism and the organization of wages constitute a single unit. Wages are the driving belt of the economic mechanism ensuring that the principles of financial autonomy are emphasized to each team and to each work station. This is the decision of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU. It was drawn up very thoroughly and is virtually a reform in the sphere of the organization of wages.

[Zorin] How is the introduction of new forms in the valuation of work, in the evaluation of work according to quality, proceeding? What are the problems and difficulties?

[Gavrilov] A new approach has indeed been found today to raising wages for industrial workers without allocating subsidies from the budget: that is on the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing of the enterprise, when the enterprise must itself earn the funds for introducing new increased tariff and pay rates. Under the new conditions, the tariff rates are to increase on average by 20-25%t, the rates of pay for specialists by 30-35%, and even more for talented designers and technologists. Economic levers will also be mobilized. New equipment will be introduced at an accelerated rate. There will be new technology and work organization will be changed, enabling us to earn these funds.

[Zorin] People have started earning less, especially in the first stages. What is the problem here? Who is falling short of the mark?

[Gavrilov] With the implementation of the new conditions of remuneration, people have not started earning less. The enterprises themselves determine when they will introduce these new conditions as funds are accumulated. Consequently, drops in wages are ruled out. One must earn one's wages oneself. The Railway Ministry has been a pioneer in our country and is the best in this field today. They have released 280,000 people and placed them all in jobs at enteprises of the regions in which this system was implemented.

[Zorin] What is the result of this transfer?

[Gavrilov] Their labor productivity has increased by 15% while wages rose by 11-12%.

[Zorin] What is the fate of the so-called 13th month wage?

[Gavrilov] The 13th month wage is not being reduced. You may organize the awarding of bonuses as you consider necessary at your enterprise. It is for this point that people have so far proved to be insufficiently prepared.

[Zorin] Psychologically prepared?

[Gavrilov] Psychologically! And perhaps there wasn't enough time. For a long time we have been striving toward providing greater incentives for highly qualified work. Now we have embarked on an eight-category tariff scale: for tool makers, repairman of precision transfer lines, and a whole range of others. A direct link has been established between wages and results of work, which is what we wanted. [end recording]

Gosbank Chief on Impact of New Conditions

PM111001 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 50, Dec 87 (Signed to Press 3 Dec 87) pp 4, 9

["Topical Interview" with N.V. Garetovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosbank Board, under the rubric "New Economic Mechanism":"Restructuring of the Banking System. Nikolay Viktorovich Garetovskiy, Chairman of the USSR Gosbank Board, Replies to EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA's Questions"—place and date of interview not given]

[Text] [EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] Nikolay Viktorovich, what is the essence of the restructuring of the banking system and what are its main avenues?

[Garetovskiy] Here we must bear in mind two aspects: the formation of new specialized banks, and the restructuring of the banks' actual operations on the basis of a fundamentally new approach to the implementation of monetary and credit policy.

Five specialized banks have now been created: the USSR Industrial Construction Bank, the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank, the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, the USSR Workers' Savings and Consumer Credit Bank, and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. The main object of the reorganization is to establish closer links between the ramified banking system's operations and the national economy.

The main avenues of banks' operations are defined with due consideration for their specialization. The USSR Gosbank has been given the status of the country's main bank. It is the sole currency-issuing bank and organizer of money-credit relations within the national economy, and it provides centralized plan management of the money-credit system and implementation of the state's unified policy in the spheres of money circulation, credit, finance, settlements, and cash and foreign currency operations. There will also be centralized regulation of money circulation in the country and of the release of money into circulation.

The Gosbank has the task of monitoring operations by USSR specialized banks along all the main avenues and of analyzing the measures being implemented to restructure the work of banks and their institutions in the new conditions of economic management. In order to be able to perform the functions in question, the bank has been relieved of day-to-day operations providing direct services to the national economy's sectors. These functions have been assigned to the specialized banks.

It must be emphasized that the Gosbank does not issue orders to the sectoral banks. Each one of them is independent and operates on the principles of economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. The Gosbank exerts influence on specialized banks only through economic methods of influence, through the fact that resources allocated to them have to be paid for. At the same time, the Gosbank coordinates operations by these banks on the most important questions of banking policy. It has been assigned the task of elaborating and issuing, jointly with the banks, all the basic documents regulating operations by specialized banks in the sphere of credit and interest rate policy, money circulation, cash performance of the state budget, and settlements. A special Council of Banks has been set up for the purpose of such coordination, with similar councils being set up in republics, krays, and oblasts.

The second aspect of the restructuring of banking operations involves enhancement of the role played by credit, the renewal of credit principles, and fundamental changes in credit policy and especially in the organization of credit relations.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] Tell us about this in more detail.

[Garetovskiy] The main feature in banks' operations in the new conditions consists in the fact that they must become really active and interested participants in the restructuring of economic management, partners in economic management, and must perform the functions assigned to them on this very basis.

The achievement of this goal will be ensured through democratization of the actual credit relationship. Banks and enterprises now emerge as equal parties, regulating their relations by means of economic and legal norms and normatives. Credit plans will acquire greater importance in the state planning system, and they will be more tightly interlinked with economic and financial plans.

Until now, the management of bank credit was extremely centralized, and this deprived the credit mechanism of the necessary flexibility and efficiency. The amount of credit investment by sectors and enterprises used to be determined in advance. In these conditions, local bank institutions were unable to satisfy the economy's needs for credit in the light of specific economic management conditions even when resources were available, because these resources were assigned sector by sector.

The practice of credit planning has changed now. The lending fund will not be centrally allocated to ministries and departments as in the past. Questions involving the planning and utilization of credit will be resolved at local level, taking into account the volume of credit resources allocated to each individual bank and enterprises' economically justified need for it. In this context, there will be a sharp enhancement of the role played by local banks in the drawing up and performance of regional credit plans.

Here is another very important feature: The credit resources allocated to specialized banks are made available on condition that they are paid for.

It is incumbent on banks to cooperate by all means in ensuring the successful functioning of the new economic mechanism and in strengthening economic accountability [khozraschet] and enterprises' economic position in accordance with the provision of the Law on the State Enterprise. Moreover, the process of organizing credit relations must be based on a mandatory coordination of the interests of labor collectives and all-state interests.

Preference in the granting of credits will be given to measures which ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the achievement of qualitatively new levels in production development, the buildup of the production of new and highly efficient types of output and consumer goods, and the provision of various services to the population.

The solution of these tasks must be promoted by the new structure of credit relations between banks and enterprises, and credit agreements in particular. Their purpose is to raise the efficiency of credit resources utilization and to step up the influence exercised by the credit mechanism on the end results of work by enterprises and associations.

The contents of credit agreements will be determined directly by the contracting parties themselves. They will also determine the mutual commitments under credit agreements.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] What has to be done to actually ensure such mutual relations between banks and enterprises?

[Garetovskiy] The new approaches toward bank operations stem from the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. The main point here is to ensure complete and rigorous observance of enterprises' rights. These rights should not only be used as a basis of credit agreements, but enterprises should also be required to act within the scope of these rights and to make full use of their potential as regards mobilization of internal reserves and the performance of state orders and contract commitments.

In order to achieve the set goal, the activity of both banks and enterprises must be channeled along a single track of interests. The banks' economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] operations are based on profits which will be generated from a proportion of enterprises' profits through the payment of interest charges for bank credits. As we can see, there is a common source here, and hence there must be common interest in enterprises' making profits.

I would like to note, however, that partnership with the economy certainly does not mean that all bank operations will now be subordinated to enterprises or that specialized sectoral banks like, for example, the USSR Agro-industrial Bank and its local branches will turn into a component of the agro-industrial complex. The specialized banks are state banks. The ensuring of statewide interests must be the basis of their operations. This is the essence of the problem of specialized banks' operations. They must be more deeply and directly involved in economic and financial activity by enterprises and must constantly ensure the implementation of statewide interests.

This will be primarily reflected in the fact that, in their partnership with enterprises, banks will be strictly guided by the fundamental principles of credit: Credit facilities must be strictly targeted, must have appropriate material backing, must be granted for fixed periods of time determined by the agreement, and must be repaid promptly.

If the conditions of economic accountability [khozraschet] in banks' operations are breached through commitment of their resources for a long period and in respect of unspecified expenditure, this will, of course, prevent them from operating normally. Therefore, when credit agreements are elaborated, it is necessary to apply in-depth economic analysis, a painstaking approach by both the bank and the borrower, and correct utilization of credit resources, especially in view of the fact that they are limited.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] Would it be possible, if only in general terms, to cast some light on the structure and importance of the Gosbank's lending fund in the new conditions?

[Garetovskiy] Much is being said today about the broader involvement of credit in enterprises' financial and accounting operations, and it is suggested that certain expenditures should be funded by credit with subsequent repayment through income to be earned. It seems to me that this is the correct presentation of the question. But even that has its own problems.

The point is that the state's lending fund—the resources used by banks to grant credits—is limited. These resources are built up from temporarily uncommitted funds belonging to enterprises and deposited in their bank accounts, funds belonging to union, republic, and

local budgets, and temporarily uncommitted resources belonging to public organizations. The composition of credit resources also includes temporarily uncommitted funds belonging to the population and deposited with the Savings Bank. These funds are repayable at any time on demand by either enterprises or the population.

Furthermore, economic organizations today can perform an extensive package of works both within the plan limits and in excess of plan, given the availability of material resources. Their funds deposited with the bank become more mobile, and they increasingly often approach the bank to utilize these funds for their economic affairs. This affects the state of credit resources.

Particular importance attaches to the repayment of bank credits in these conditions. Any breach of economic organizations' commitments to the bank could actually result in a disruption of the lending fund's structure and the entire credit system. All this makes it necessary to sharply boost the economic objectivity of credit applications and to ensure the prompt repayment of loans.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] Hence, probably, the task of ensuring close interlinkage between questions of credit planning and resources and the strengthening of enterprises' financial condition.

[Garetovskiy] Yes, this is a very important task. The consolidated credit plan containing the allocation of resources to banks is submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers. Following its approval, the specialized banks ensure the notification of credit resources to republic banks and oblast administrations, which in turn ensure that they are further assigned to rayon bank institutions. The rayon bank institutions, aware of the size of their resources, conclude credit agreements with the appropriate enterprises and organizations.

Of course, having only a limited lending fund and operating on economic-accountability [khozraschetnyy] principles, they will give top priority to enterprises that operate well. This is why it is important for ministries and departments, together with local bank institutions, to thoroughly examine the work of lagging enterprises and improve their financial situation as of this year.

The problem of financial improvement in individual enterprises during their transition to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing is especially topical at present, not only from the viewpoint of creating normal conditions for their work but also in connection with the introduction of the calendar payments system.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] What is the essence ofthe transfer to the calendar payments system?

[Garetovskiy] The Law on the State Enterprise provides that all enterprises entering into contractual relations with the bank and other economic organs are obliged to promptly honor their payment commitments. If an enterprise is in breach of contract commitments and is late in making payments, it is bound to pay fines and forfeits. This is understandable. After all, by the very fact of delaying payment, an undisciplined client places his suppliers in financial difficulties. At present, for example, the total amount of outstanding payments between enterprises is in excess of R19 billion. Some specific amounts are: R66 million for the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, R603 million for the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, and R543 million for the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry.

In order to ensure that payments are made normally and that all parties involved are on an equal footing, it is incumbent on enterprises to effect settlement according to the date order of receipt of invoices as and when payments fall due. This means that, under the calendar priority system, the bank will make all settlements from current account, including budget contributions and wages payments. This is a fundamentally new approach.

At this point, I would like to draw particular attention to the new conditions of wage payments being introduced from the new year. Previously, funds to meet wage payments were deposited several days ahead of actual payment. The switch to calendar priority of settlement of invoices means that if invoices due for settlement in respect of raw and other materials are received on the day before wage payments are made, the settlement of these invoices will be given priority.

This procedure makes it incumbent on enterprise leaders and their economic services to be more profoundly aware of the enterprise's financial situation and to give particular attention to planning deposits of funds in current accounts, drawing up appropriate schedules showing the due dates for payments and the settlement of individual invoices, and meeting their payment commitments so as to ensure that wages are paid strictly on time.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] The editorial office mail contains reports from local level to the effect that this year some enterprises incurred delays in wage payments, even before the calendar priority for payments has been introduced. Will its widespread application not lead to violations of wage payment schedules everywhere?

[Garetovskiy] Indeed, this could happen unless there are prompt preparations to prevent it. The materials from inspections carried out by the USSR Gosbank into the preparedness of enterprises to switch to the new conditions of work from 1 January 1988 show that many of them are in arrears as regards wage payments.

This could, of course, create complications with wage payments since, as I already mentioned, from the start of the new year priority will be given to invoices on file with

the banks. This is why the main point now is to introduce measures to improve the financial situation of such enterprises and to clear any arrears in payments before the start of the new year.

There are possibilities for doing this, and full use must be made of them. For example, when the USSR Council of Ministers examined the draft credit and cash plan for the last quarter of 1987; it gave ministries and departments extensive rights to mobilize internal reserves for the elimination of any arrears in payments. It must be noted that by no means all are making full use of them. Even though there are arrears in payments, there are also large above-plan stocks of commodity and material assets and surplus commodities and finished products. Obviously, all this must now be released and, whenever necessary, sold to other enterprises, cooperatives, or the population. The enterprises have been given the right to do this.

For its part the USSR Gosbank, together with the specialized banks, will produce an intersectoral statement of mutual indebtedness as at 25 December this year. All this, as a package, ought to lead to the creation of normal conditions for work from the start of the new year.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] You spoke about partnership. What is being done by the Gosbank Board to ensure a real partnership starting, for example, with the top level of management?

[Garetovskiy] The new system of economic management changes the bank's position in the economy. Bank institutions are in daily contact with enterprises through the ramified system of mutual relations involving invoice payments, wage payments, and provision of credits. It must be said that the banks are now granting credits totaling in excess of R440 billion. This is, so to speak, the general aspect of the problem. These figures describe the quantative aspect of the new mutual relations. Essentially, this will represent what bank officials describe as the "starting" credit indebtedness, while in fact every ruble lent on short-term credit will have turned over 6-7 times during the year.

The bank's role boils down to ensuring the most rational and most efficient use of these funds. Speaking of the Gosbank Board, we and the leaders of all ministries and departments due to switch to new conditions of work as of 1 January 1988 have examined their financial situation. A number of complex problems arose involving the search for reserves. There was a practical examination of the opportunities to mobilize internal resources or to partially provide credit facilities for this purpose. Proposals were submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers on individual questions concerning the strengthening of the finances of enterprises under these ministries. A common language was found with the ministries as regards the questions of creating the best possible conditions for the introduction of the calendar system of payment priorities.

But the broad discussion of these questions also showed that some enterprises are experiencing particularly serious financial difficulties. This is primarily the result of their breach of contract delivery plans and subsequent payment of large sums in fines. Supplementary proposals are currently being elaborated by ministries and departments, jointly with the Ministry of Finance and the Gosbank, to create normal conditions for work by such enterprises in the new year. The main point here is to make more extensive use of internal reserves and of centralized funds held by ministries and departments.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] Many economic managers are asking whether banks will offer greater benefits when granting credit, and whether sanctions and measures of economic influence will be applied against enterprises by bank institutions in the future.

[Garetovskiy] In the new conditions, credit relations between banks and enterprises will be built on strict observance, by both enterprises and banks, of the principles of credit—plan targeting, material support, time limit, repayment, and payment of charges for credit.

Previously many enterprises used credit facilities to cover their long-term financial shortfalls, economic mismanagement, and losses, but now the use of credit facilities for these purposes will not be allowed. A stricter regime will be applied to the granting of new credit in the event of delays in repayment: If loan repayment schedules are systematically breached, the loan will be recalled.

On the subject of benefits offered by banks to enterprises, it must be noted that bank institution leaders will now decide all these questions independently by offering lower interest charges to enterprises which take measures to reduce the stocks of commodity and material assets according to plan figures, to improve the circulation and safekeeping of circulating funds, and to perform their obligations to banks in terms of credit repayments. As regards enterprises whose work in this direction is unsatisfactory, they may be charged higher interest rates.

One of the factors of banks' influence on enterprises' economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] interest will also be the broader differentiation in interest charges for credit facilities depending on the purpose to which they will be put (whether for plan, above-plan, or unforeseen requirements) and on the prompt repayment of credit. It is, however, obvious that this system will not be widely introduced before the new 5-year plan period, since profit distribution normatives have already been approved for the current 5-year plan period.

And now about sanctions. In order to enable bank institutions to really become active and interested partners of enterprises to which they grant credit, they must study the financial situation in depth and do all they can

to assist the development of their initiative and economic enterprise. But this does not rule out the application of economic influence measures by local banks against enterprises which do not operate well. Those which systematically incur losses and are not prompt in making payments to the budget, banks, and suppliers may be transferred to a special credit and payments regime and may even be declared insolvent.

Incidentally, reports of such measures being taken will not only be sent to the main suppliers of commodity and material assets to the enterprise in question, but will also be published in the press and primarily in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA. If these measures fail to produce a positive effect,the USSR banks jointly with the USSR Ministry of Finance may submit proposals for the liquidation or reorganization of such enterprises for examination by ministries and departments or union republic councils of ministers. This is, of course, the ultimate measure. But an analysis of credit relations with enterprises in different sectors of the national economy over the last few years shows that, unfortunately, grounds do exist for its application.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] Earlier on, the editorial office mail contained quite a few letters from economic leaders of enterprises complaining about the large quantity of instructions and directives regulating their activity and fettering the independence of labor collectives. What is the current state of affairs in this sphere, and how is the bank solving any problems emerging there?

[Garetovskiy] The Gosbank Board has firmly adopted a course of abolishing the multitude of types and conditions of loans, simplifying the credit system, and enhancing its efficiency.

For example, there has been a sharp reduction in the quantity of documents and data which enterprises must submit to the bank when credit is granted or payment made. As a result of the standardization of all basic directives on credit and finance, enterprises now submit to the bank only one-half the amount of documents they used to submit. For example, the number of documents required to be submitted by enterprises to obtain finance for capital investment purposes has been reduced from 16 to 4.

The formerly existing multitude of categories of projects to be financed by credit created complications in the organization of credit relations. Purposeful consolidation work was done in this context. For example, the number of categories of projects to be financed by credit in industry operating in conditions of self-financing has been reduced from 14 to 3, in agriculture from 15 to 6, and in trade from 14 to 3.

The USSR Gosbank will cancel, as of 1 January 1988, 22 out-of-date instructions and 320 normative letters, directives, and orders. Unified Rules for Credit Facilities for Material Stocks and Production Expenses will be introduced and will be used in granting credits to enterprises in industry, transport, communications, construction industry, local economy, consumer services, and procurement organizations.

The new Rules for Effecting Clearing Payments Within the National Economy will substantially expand the rights of enterprises, significantly simplify payments procedures and document turnover, and lift all previously existing restrictions on the choice of different types of payment. The basic document will be the contract between the parties, in which the enterprises themselves will specify the different types of payment.

[EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA] One last question. What is the bank working on today?

[Garetovskiy] The main point now is to prepare thoroughly, together with the specialized banks, for work under the new conditions. What has been done is only a small fraction of a large job. The most important work is beginning now—the conclusion of credit agreements between banks and enterprises and associations. This is something new. I make no secret of the fact that many bank officials and even economic leaders of enterprises feel "intimidated" by the great rights vested in them. Things were simpler in the past: Here is the instruction, just follow it. Matters are different now: You've been given the right, make your decision, and be responsible for its implementation. To put it briefly, much work has to be done on the retraining of cadres, and this work will have to be done "on the march."

The second most important task is to "switch on" the new banking mechanism, to practically tune the banks' economic accountability [khozraschet]. Profit is the main indicator of their operations. And in order to earn it, the banks must build up their contribution to the efficiency of enterprises' work. It is, after all, the enterprises that will pay for credits, and this payment will form the banks' profit. Moreover, work must be organized in such a way as to ensure that the volume of bank profit is sufficient to create conditions for the banks' further development and to pay interest to enterprises for the temporary deposit of money from their funds.

Much also has to be done in the elaboration of a consolidated balance sheet of money circulation. Briefly speaking, all the work still lies ahead.

Geology Minister Kozlovskiy Interviewed

LD242350 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Interview with Geology Minister Kozlovskiy by correspondent Igor Zorev; date and place not specified—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Kozlovskiy] We must seriously intensify work and complete it at the Talnakh copper and nickel deposit and at the (Sobolidno) tin deposit in the Far East, the

(Dulak) silver deposit in Magadan Oblast and at the Bolshoy Kanimansur silver deposit in Tajikistan. To a significant extent they define the profile of our plan for this year. At the same time we are completing the plan for seven oil and gas deposits.

[Zorev] Are there still undiscovered reserves of oil and gas in our country?

[Kozlovskiy] As a geologist I confirm that the reserves of oil and gas are sufficient for the successful development of the Soviet economy. In this connection I should like to say that during this year we are eliminating the backlog which happened with gas last year, that is that after confirming the reserves of gas this year for Western Siberia we shall practically eliminate our backlog and create a good surplus for the future.[passage omitted]

Briefs

New Foreign Trade Firm

Ulyanovsk December 2 TASS—THE Ulyanovsk machine-tool building production amalgamation got the right to conclude independently commercial deals with foreign firms. It set up its own foreign trade firm Stanimpex. Two contracts were concluded with partners from Japan and Finland to supply them next year with bed-type milling machines of a new generation. The amalgamation started manufacturing parts and units for these mammoth machines. It will take 10 railway flat-cars to transport each of them. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 2 Dec 87 LD*]

Tashkent-Chimkent Oil Pipeline

Trials have started of Central Asia's first oil products pipeline between Tashkent and Chimkent. This 178 km long trunk pipeline has linked the industrial centers of two neighboring republics, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Putting it into operation will enable the transport workers to release 120 trains, to save many power resources and, most importantly, relieve markedly the pressure on train traffic on one of the difficult sections of the Central Asian Railway. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 5 Dec 87 LD*]

New Pipeline Carrying Oil

The Purpeyskoye trust of Tyumen Oblast has completed an important target in laying a 100-km-long section of the second stage of the new Kholmogory-Urengoy oil pipeline. By this morning four-fifths of the new pipeline was already carrying oil. It is intended to fill the remaining section with liquid fuel in December. So, the new oil pipeline has grown by a total of 228 km since the beginning of the 5-year plan. The pipeline builders still have one more section to complete, to Urengoy where the extraction of oil along with gas and condensate is to be developed in the near future. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 26 Nov 87 LD*]

Scientific

'Raduga' Communications Satellite Launched

LD110816 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 11 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—The Soviet Union Thursday launched another communications satellite in the Raduga (Rainbow) series.

It is meant for ensuring telephone, telegraph and radio communications and transmitting television programs.

The satellite was inserted by a proton booster into what is close to a circular stationary orbit. The equipment on board the satellite is functioning normally.

Academy of Sciences Election Problems Viewed

PM091041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[N. Ilinskaya article: "On the Eve of the Event. Concerning a Vacancy"]

[Text] This had never happened before. As many as 250 new academicians and corresponding members were to ascend the scientific Olympus at the same time. On hearing the news, the hall of the USSR Academy of Sciences' general meeting came alive. President G. Marchuk continued:

"Considering there is such a large number of vacancies, it has been suggested that elections be held in three stages: in December this year and in two more stages next year. Are there any objections?"

There were no objections. The hall began to discuss the news with interest.

Why such a large number of vacancies, which can usually be counted in tens rather than hundreds? The whole point is that, according to the new procedure, when an academician reaches age 75, his position becomes vacant and has to be filled by a new, elected full member. The previous holder of the position does retain his rights as member of the academy. Another fundamental decision has also been taken: An age limit has been established for holders of administrative positions. Academicians and corresponding members in charge of institutes, departments, laboratories, and sectors are relieved of their administrative responsibilities on reaching age 70. Other leading personnel who do not have high academic titles relinquish their authority at 65.

What is the point of this cadre restructuring? The facts of recent years show that the rejuvenation of the academy is an urgent necessity. The number of doctors of sciences younger than 40, for example, has been been halved in institutes in the last 10 years, and the number of academicians below age 50 has declined by a factor of 6. Rectification of these age anomalies is not an end in

itself of the formal dogma of the academy's cadre policy. Young people do not bring only new scientific ideas. They also give the collective the dynamism, calculated risk, and bold decisionmaking that are now so essential. A harmonious combination of leading scientific personnel's experience and young researchers' energy is a guarantee of society's high productivity and stable scientific and technical culture. That is why academy establishments will accept young VUZ graduates and specialists who have completed postgraduate studies as 5% of their annual intake from now on.

All these cadre policy innovations were approved by the academy's general meeting. A total of 12 academicians have already relinquished their authority as directors and become counselors. But as far as elections to the academy are concerned, there are still a number of points that have to be clarified.

The academy leadership said in no uncertain terms at a meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences party and economic aktiv in September:

"Scientists no older than 60 and corresponding members no older than 55 should be nominated as academicians...."

The nomination of candidates took place in October. They included a considerable number of scientists older than 60. Many scientific collectives had felt that the age limit on elections was in direct violation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Statute. What is more, some scientists believe that these restrictions will be detrimental to science. Debate and discussion in the academy are a normal phenomenon, but now some people would like to use this situation for their own ends. The whole point is that there are too many candidates for the vacancies, which means that as far as some people are concerned, "promotion" to the academy is a fight "for a place in the sun." All this has nothing to do with a meaningful contribution by any given candidate....

What is the academy? It is a scientific association of scientists, not a department or an institution. Some people have recently been inclined to regard the academy as a department affiliation that confers an eternal stamp of erudition on them. However, science is not the work of glib administrators with academic titles but of researchers who can be given the lofty title "stars." Capable people gravitate toward them as a rule. After initially putting the ideas of their leader into practice, with time they themselves become stars. An entire constellation now decks the horizon of science, as we have seen in the collectives of Academicians A. Ioffe, N. Vavilov, N. Semenov, I. Kurchatov, S. Korolev, P. Kapitsa, and M. Lavrentyev. We are witnessing a process of educating the generations and ensuring their continuity.

Psychologists claim that talent appears early, as a rule, only in artistic creativity and theoretical disciplines such as physics and mathematics. This is also reflected in the academy: Our youngest scientists elected before the age of 40 for their outstanding contribution to science are representatives of the natural sciences: S. Sobolev, N. Semenov, Ye. Velikhov, A. Skrinskiy, and R. Sagdeyev.

If there had been an age limit in elections, many eminent scientists of world renown would never have become full members of the academy. They include shipbuilder N. Isanin, chemist Ya. Kolotyrkin, philosopher B. Kedrov, physicist and Nobel Prize Laureate P. Cherenkov, aircraft designer A. Yakovlev, renowned selection expert V. Remeslo, literary critic D. Likhachev, writer L. Leonov, metallurgist N. Ageyev, nuclear physicist N. Dollezhal, power engineer M. Styrikovich, and geneticist D. Belyayev.... And there are many, many others—almost one-third of all academicians are elected after age 60.

It is hard to imagine that major scientists could have been barred from the academy because of such a formality as "irregularity in section three of the questionnaire," as witty physicists now joke.

"Creativity recognizes no questionnaire-based boundaries; it is a state of mind and quality of intellect and character," Academician A. Isayev, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Affiliate of the USSR Academy of Sciences, reasons. "I will use some examples that are close to me as a biologist. At age 63, geneticist A. Shulyndin cultivated a new cereal combining the qualities of wheat and rye: triticale. It is known as the "grain of the future" all over the world. This scientist spent more than 20 years working toward his goal. Success and age arrived together. Surely this does not mean that the work of a devoted scientist does not merit the classification 'outstanding'? It is not a question of age but of a meaningful contribution by the person concerned. This must be the main criterion during the elections...."

We will ask another question: Why are elections to the academy arousing such a heightened interest among the scientific community? It is because being elected is not only a great honor; it leads to direct and indirect material benefits. There is another country in the world where scientists are paid for bearing this distinguished title. That country is Spain. But in most countries, a scientist is remunerated for his work rather than his title. Material incentives encourage tangible results regardless of the title and regalia of their author.

Does the eternal stamp of erudition not encourage some people to try to get into the academy by crooked means? Perhaps we should go a step further and not pay for the title? Just make an exception for counselors? Incidentally, many academicians have suggested this more than once before, but as yet their voices have remained unheard....

There is another problem which cannot be overlooked today. Unfortunately, the system of election by position has become established in academic life. Directors of institutes are frequently appointed with a view to giving them a clear run to the academy. Officials appointed to leading positions and then elected to the academy have introduced an alien bureaucratic style to science. Scientific prestige is sometimes replaced by authoritarian, bureaucratic administration, and scientific debate disappears.

Many scientists now question the justification for this massive intake of administrators by the academy in their letters to the editor and publicly from the rostrum. Is this not the reason why we hold the world record in terms of the number of academicians and corresponding members per capita of the population, while the number of scientists who have made a breakthrough to new knowledge can be counted on the fingers of one hand?

It has reached the stage where vacancies have come to be blatantly used as a form of enticement. In this sense, Siberia and the Far East have developed into a forge of scientific knowledge. Doctors of sciences from Moscow come to the region to act as directors. Within 2-4 years, they almost automatically become corresponding members and return to the capital to calmly pick up new posts and privileges as members of the elect, avoiding their more scrupulous colleagues in their scientific career.

There can be no argument that those who invite a Moscow specialist to "fill a vacancy" sincerely want to benefit science and improve cadre training. It is not their fault that these are conflicting aims. That is why, as many scientists believe, amendments have to be made to the regulations governing elections for the Siberian, Far Eastern, and Urals Departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences: the introduction of a special provision that persons living and working in these regions may become candidate members of these departments.

Scientists also draw attention to another longstanding feature of the election system. Current electoral practice is often at variance with the results of scientists' work. There is no indication as to the scientific qualifications expected of a candidate. Should he have made some discoveries, written textbooks and monographs, have the appropriate scientific experience? Or should he be judged by position and whether he has made a name for himself by becoming familiar in newspaper and journal publications? It is interesting to see what lies behind the mound of publications of some candidates. They include once fashionable works such as "Economic Reasons for the Disappearance of the Individual Subsidiary Farm" and similar works of their time. Today their authors are equally eloquent in their contention that individual subsidiary farms, individual labor activity, and real economic accountability [khozraschet] are economically expedient. They sail with the tide. But where is science in all this?

"We obviously need independent expert commissions of reputable specialists which would reach their own conclusions on the quality of a scientific work and judge a candidate's real contribution on this rather than on the 'volume' of his publications," Academician N. Moiseyev believes. "The democratization of scientific life is necessary for development of science. The election of new members is not a formality but the supreme recognition of their scientific creativity. I believe that changes should be made to the electoral procedure. I am firmly convinced that full members should not be elected by academicians alone, as is the current practice. Is it democratic to bar corresponding members from voting? It would be in our general interest to hear their opinions."

It is gratifying that the USSR Academy of Sciences is seeking new approaches. There is no doubt that scientists will find the optimum solutions, and the academy will be replenished with people who will become the pride of Soviet science. Let us once again recall that major breakthroughs in knowledge only happen when the entire research organization system assists the talented leader—the generator of new ideas.

TV Cover Extended in Chechen-Ingushetia Region

PM081205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "To Television Screens"]

[Text] Groznyy, 1 Dec—The zone of television program reception in Chechen-Ingushetia is being extended. Powerful retransmitters constructed in the settlement of Znamenskoye and the village of Mekenskaya have eliminated the gaps on the television "map" of the autonomous republic's steppe rayons. With the help of retransmitters and reception stations, television screens in all settlements in the autonomous republic will light up by the end of the 5-year plan.

Moldavian Earthquake Forecast Rumor Denied

PM071351 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Dec 87 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Rumors and Facts"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] There are persistent rumors in our republic that a destructive force 12 (!) earthquake is expected in Moldavia in March 1988. They say this has been worked out by a Japanese computer. (P. Alekseyev, Rybnitsa).

Here is a reply from V. Anikolenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium interdepartmental council for seismology and earthquakeproof construction.

Absurd! First, because even theoretically, earthquakes of no more than force 6-7 are possible in Moldavia. Second, scientists have been unable to detect any signs of the allegedly imminent earthquake. Hence, everything concerning the "Japanese computer" is pure fabrication.

In answering the reader's question, I cannot help thinking that it is not I, as a physicist, who should have done so, but psychologists. They will perhaps be able to say how absurd rumors are born.

Military

Lizichev on Restructuring of Ideological Work

PM111205 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Deepening the Restructuring of Ideological Work"]

[Text] A conference-seminar of the chiefs of political directorate propaganda and agitation departments of the branches of the Armed Forces, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets, the editors of district, group, and fleet newspapers, and the chiefs of district, group, and fleet officers houses has been held in the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army.

Colonel General D. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, delivered a report "On the Course of Restructuring Ideological Work in the Army and Navy." The report was discussed. There was an exchange of opinions and experience at plenary and sectional sessions, and the propaganda workers attended a number of lectures.

Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, addressed the conference-seminar.

The basic outlines of the concept of restructuring ideological work in the Army and Navy have, he noted, been drawn up. Briefly, it essentially amounts to the following tasks:

First, concentration of the Army and Navy's ideological potential on resolving key problems of combat readiness and strengthening troop discipline. We must set up reliable organizational links between political propaganda, agitation, and cultural enlightenment work and the life of the troops and fleets amd their training and improvement.

Second, creation of an entire system for the ideological and political inculcation of a new moral and ethical atmosphere in troop collectives, an atmosphere of creative questing, democratism, crucial decisions, firm discipline, and principledness. The question of morality is fundamental, for there can be no restructuring without integrity [dukhovnost].

Third, renewal of the content and methods of political instruction and mass political work, directing them toward dialogue with one's audience. We must set people thinking and questing and give scope for innovative ideas and new opinions and proposals.

Fourth, the very mechanism by which all our ideological institutes and mass media function must be rendered dynamic and flexible, such that, on the one hand, it theoretically interprets all restructuring problems and, on the other, works toward the end result, the vital issue, the real return.

We must shift all emphasis in political instruction and mass political and cultural enlightenment work onto achievement of high specific results in combat training and discipline. Our propaganda cadres have not yet profoundly understood how they must influence barrackroom life and how they must organize a lively and constructive conversation with people. Until each individual's inner world is penetrated by the entire force of conviction, matters—the molding of regulation relationships, for example—will remain at a standstill.

It is time to understand that the extensive path has exhausted itself. The intensive path presupposes above all the democratization of the entire ideological sphere. This means taking into consideration people's opinions, sentiments, requirements, and requests.

The priority task now is to step up propaganda of the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress, subsequent Central Committee plenums,and the tenets and conclusions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues," and other documents associated with the 70th anniversary of Great October. We must actively involve ourselves in explanatory work in connection with the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The preparations for the Armed Forces jubilee are opening up great opportunities for propaganda workers. A new quality must be imparted to patriotic and international education. Everyday our main concern must be in the forefront: ideological backup for fulfillment of the tasks of the 1988 training year.

The speech by the chief of the Main Political Directorate stressed the role of political organs, especially primary political organs, in restructuring ideological activity. Many political organ workers still prefer their offices, telephones, written reports, and command-and-pressure style of work. Each political organ must provide impetus for the vital work and social activeness of the personnel.

As is well known, all threads of restructuring come together in the primary party organizations. They are currently reporting on the progress of restructuring, and some such meetings have proved extremely feeble. The situation must be corrected. For it is with these reports,

as well as with the impending party aktiv meetings, that the process of the new stage of normalizing and boosting the militancy of the party organizations must begin.

It was also pointed out that the potential of military social scientists is being insufficiently exploited. Within the teacher community, it is essential to overcome the distinctive personal estrangement from the difficulties and complexities being experienced, from the expectation of some new instructions from above. [sentence as published]

The speech also examined other topical questions of the restructuring of ideological activity in the Army and Navy.

The following took part in the work of the conference-seminar: Admiral A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; I. Larin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department; and N. Shlyaga and G. Zyuganov, sector chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments.

General Krivosheyev Interviewed on Draft Dodging

PM101341 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Dec 87 p 4

[Interview with Deputy Chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff Colonel General G.F. Krivosheyev by Yu. Dmitriyev: "Fall Draft"; first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction; date and place not specified]

[Text] The fall draft for active military service is under way in the country. Once again solicitous mothers are fussing over preparing their sons for the Army. It should not be forgotten that they may be going far away: They need warm socks, a scarf, and a pile of envelopes with return addresses....

Yes, in our fatherland the future soldier has traditionally been surrounded with attention and concern by his family and friends. With what panoply of knowledge and skills will the future defender of the motherland set off for military service; what awaits him on this difficult journey?.... Journalist Yu. Dmitriyev and Col Gen G.F. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, talked about this.

"These questions are certainly very important for draftees," G.F. Krivosheyev says. "A young man's service in the Armed Forces is a most responsible time for him. He passes through a school of courage and collectivism, a school of internationalism, political vigilance, discipline, and organization."

[Dmitriyev] Grigoriy Fedotovich, I would like to talk not about the public face of things. In the editorial mail, there are many remarks and criticisms regarding shortcomings in the training and education of future servicemen.

[Krivosheyev] Much depends here on labor collectives, educational institutions, Komsomol organizations, and families. In Belorussia and Crimean, Penza, Bryansk, Tula, Voronezh, Amur, and Lipetsk Oblasts, young men are instructed in military matters with feeling and with great concern for the future soldier. But in the Semipalatinsk and Chita Oblasts, the Armenian SSR, Dagestan ASSR, and even Moscow and Leningrad this concern is lacking. Only 16% of secondary educational institutions in the capital have a full complement of training materials and facilities for classes on basic military training. The situation is no better in a number of enterprises in Khabarovsk Kray, the Mari and Mordovian ASSR's, or Kemerovo, Kostroma, Ryazan, and other oblasts. Training materials and facilities in many schools and vocational and technical schools in Khmelnitskiy and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenia are extremely unsatisfactory, although reports of the military commissariats from these places are couched in rosy terms.

Many schools, technical colleges, vocational and technical schools, and DOSAAF training organizations need to be reinforced with qualified cadres of military instructors, teachers, and experts in production training. They should emulate people like Mikhail Kuzmitskiy, military instructor at School No 147 in Minsk, Akhmed Sabitov from School No 1 in Ulyanovsk, Viktor Kabitsyn from School No 2 in Kislovodsk, and others.

Physical training also worries us. Frequently young men who have certificates which say they have passed the Ready for Labor and Defense fitness norms cannot do chin-ups, cannot swim, start blowing in just the first few hundred meters of a cross-country run, and have never seen a sapper's spade or a gas mask.

On average only half of the young draftees meet the Ready for Labor and Defense norms that they passed earlier.

There are also many problems at our military commissariats. Year in, year out a number of rayons fail to fulfill the ispolkom's decisions on constructing draft and assembly points. Yet it is here that young men receive their first real impressions of service in the Armed Forces. Such points are particularly poorly equipped in North Kazakhstan, Tyumen, Chita, Kaliningrad, and Novgorod Oblasts and the Yakutsk, Dagestan, and Udmurt autonomous republics.

[Dmitriyev] What can you say, Grigoriy Fedotovich, about the draftees themselves, and about their moral and ideological mood?

[Krivosheyev] I shall be blunt: Recently, the very concept of a soldier's duty has become eroded among a certain section of young people. Certain young people try to be cunning and find an excuse to dodge military service. They are indulged in this by certain leaders of enterprises and educational institutions, who tearfully plead with the military commissariat and Defense Ministry central organs to release some of the draftees from military service. Arguments are quite seriously adduced that "most important programs" may be disrupted if a particular young person is drafted into the Army. Is such opposition permissible?

The words of the well known pedagogue V. Sukhomlinskiy automatically spring to mind: "Each of us men should remember that we have two professions: The first is as a teacher, agronomist or engineer..., and the second is the same for all of us—defender of the motherland...."

Pacifist sentiments also arise among young people. This is worrying, to put it mildly. If our country, they argue, is fighting for peace, then what is the point of military service? Some young men simply do not understand that one of the main means in the struggle for peace is the strengthening of the country's defense capability.

In certain families, a distorted portrait of the Army is created: It is alleged to be a closed and extremely harsh organization. Allegedly, entering the Army is like going into captivity. But how many times have I seen mothers' faces shining with pride in their son when he has returned from the Army adult, smart, and with several skills, whereas before military service, her little son was a weakling who could not even sew a button on his jacket or chop wood. Our ailment, in my view, is the feminization of family power. The woman's role is increasing not only at home, where children are often raised without a father, but also in school and in the labor collective. This is why there are boys who are shirkers, weak, and not ready to overcome difficulties.

[Dmitriyev] All the same, it cannot be denied that for some young men it is difficult in the Army; so-called nonregulation relations between servicemen exist in certain subunits. It is no secret that some senior servicemen commit illegal actions with regard to greenhorns, and bullying is rife.

[Krivosheyev] You have touched on a sore point. Yes, unfortunately, despite both educational and administrative measures, in some places bullying still poisons army life in subunits. We see ourselves as being to blame for this. But it has to be said that efforts by the Army and local organs should be pooled against this evil.

It is well known that for a long time we were silent about young alcoholics and drug addicts. We talked in passing of crimes and violations of the law among a certain section of young people and particularly about the humiliation of younger boys in schools, vocational and technical schools, and labor collectives and in the neighborhood. But the specific carriers of these vices do not become good little boys right when they put on military uniform. They bring with them into army collectives what they have been taught and what they have grown accustomed to, good and bad.

The second part of this acute problem is the inability of certain commanders and political workers to maintain proper order and discipline in units and subunits.

As I remember, in the first postwar years and even in quite recent years, we did not encounter this bullying of junior servicemen, although they arrived at the barracks exhausted by the hard times. The senior soldiers who had been through the war tried to help them by giving them a bit of their rations, taught them military matters, and were concerned for their health and their wellbeing.

And suddenly we get things like this?! "My son Vladislav served (I cite a letter to the USSR Defense Ministry from a father in Odessa) in Sovetskaya Gavan. At first everything went well: He did drill and physical training, went for runs in the hills, and took the military oath. But as soon as he was 'brought into' the main force, outrages began: The senior soldiers were offensive and forced the greenhorns to make their beds, to bring them food from the mess, and so on."

I must say that resolute measures are taken in all such cases. We severely punish officers who permit disorder in their subunits. Certain servicemen, for example, Senior Sergeant Podrezenko, who physically assaulted Private Osmanov (Belorussian Military District), was convicted by a military tribunal. Strict disciplinary proceedings were taken against Senior Lieutenant Shepilov and Captains Gershin and Kirilenko, who knew that regulation order and rules on relations between servicemen were being violated in their subunits but did not take the necessary measures in good time.

Our military regulations and law steadfastly preserve the honor and dignity of each serviceman, regardless of his rank and official status. Real friendship among personnel, collectivism, and cohesion in the interests of friendship are the norm of life in the units and ships of our Armed Forces.

Yazov, Lukyanov Sign Marshal Skripko's Obituary

PM091533 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 87 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of Marshal of Aviation Nikolay Semenovich Skripko]

[Excerpts] Marshal of Aviation Nikolay Semenovich Skripko, active participant in the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, died 5 December 1987 following a serious illness. He devoted his entire conscious life to sefless service for the socialist motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, whose ranks he joined in 1927.

N.S. Skripko was born in the village of Bolderaa in the Latvian SSR's Rizhskiy Rayon in 1902. [passage omitted]

In the postwar period, N.S. Skripko worked as first deputy commander of long-range aviation and commander of military transport aviation. From 1969 he was inspector-adviser to the General Inspectors Group of the Ministry of Defense. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, A.I. Lukyanov, A.S. Systsov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurkotkin, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, L.L. Batekhin, B.F. Korolkov, V.Ye. Pankin, A.F. Borsuk, N.G. Shishkov, V.M. Shishkin, A.N. Zakrevskiy, A.S. Goryainov, B.V. Yefanov, P.V. Balabuyev, G.V. Novozhilov, I.I. Pstygo, V.F. Tolubko, I.G. Pavlovskiy, G.P. Skorikov, S.I. Rudenko, I.N. Kozhedub, A.P. Silantyev, Ye.Y. Savitskiy, G.V. Zimin, B.P. Bugayev, V.F. Baranov.

10-Volume Patriotic War History Projected

PM081457 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Shcherban report: "Ten-Volume War History"]

[Text] Work has begun on the creation of, perhaps, the most complete work THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR [VELIKAYA OTECHESTVENNAYA VOYNA SOVETSKOGO NARODA]. All 10 volumes will be published in 1995 to mark the 50th anniversary of Victory Day, in a print run of 300,000 copies.

We met with Lieutenant General S. Radziyevskiy, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Military History Institute.

"First, we must take a qualitatively new step in the development of historical research," Sergey Ivanovich said. "And second, the need for a new work on the Great War has become pressing. The six-volume HISTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION'S GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR 1941-1945 [ISTORIYA VELIKOY OTECHESTVENNOY VOYNY SOVETSKOGO SOYUZA 1941-1945] was published more than 20 years ago. Some evaluations given in this work have proved to be at variance with the real significance of particular events. For instance, the Battle of Kursk Bulge and the Battle of Stalingrad are ranked with the operation at Malaya Zemlya, which was not of decisive significance for the fate of the warring sides. We are not saying this to offend those who fought there, for they performed their military duty valiantly."

"We will give a correct relative picture of the important events of the history of the war. Certain data, say, about losses of men and materiel will be made more precise. The same also applies to the activity of the General Headquarters and the personality of the supreme commander in chief."

"How will work on the 10-volume publication be carried out?"

"As regards scientific and organizational work, it is proceeding at full speed. A chief editor and an editorial board will be assigned to each volume. The staff of authors who will be assigned to write the sections of the work has been determined. They are military historians and scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences' main history institutes. The collective of our institute will be the 'backbone.' Indisputably, the first and second volumes, which will talk about preparations to repulse aggression and the initial period of the war, will be the most difficult. Unlike the six-volume publication, we will 'descend' as far as possible to the level of divisions and regiments and talk about the peculiarities of combat actions in this most arduous tactical link. The main aim the collective sets itself is to develop new thinking, in particular, in military cadres. The main conclusion must be imbued with the idea that a third world war must never begin."